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ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

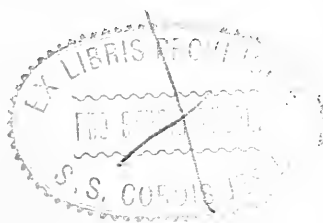


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Illinois Catholic Historical Review

VOLUME V

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ALONG THE HISTORIC ILLINOIS

I.

MARQUETTE AND JOLIET

After the Mississippi, St. Lawrence, the Missouri and the Ohio Rivers, the Illinois is and has been one of the greatest streams in North America. Its full length is five hundred miles, and nearly half of the stream is naturally navigable. It is formed by two large branches, the Kankakee and Desplaines Rivers, which join at a point in Grundy County, about forty-five miles southwest of Chicago. Its course is west, then southwest, and finally south, until it empties into the Mississippi River, about twenty miles north of the mouth of the Missouri, near the city of Grafton.¹

The banks of the Illinois River constituted the seat of civilization in the interior of that part of North America which became the United States. All authentic history of Mid-America dates from the discovery and exploration of the Illinois River. During the latter part of the 17th and virtually all of the 18th centuries, the Illinois River was the most important highway within the boundaries of what became the United States.

¹ Besides the large rivers above named there are the Yukon, the Rio Grande, the Arkansas, the Columbia, the Colorado and the Sacramento, all of which are longer than the Illinois, but the Illinois is longer than the Hudson or the Potomac or the Susquehanna. It is two and one-half times as long as the Thames of England, or the Loire of France. It is about the same length as the Rhone and the Seine of France, and the Ebro of Spain. While the Rhine is 800 miles in length as compared with the 500 miles of the Illinois, the Rhine carries more freight than all the rivers in the United States combined. In times of peace the Rhine was a striking example of an inland waterway put to its best use.

A studied and persistent course of opposition by selfish interests is responsible for the grossest neglect of one of the greatest waterways and most advantageous channels of commerce in all the world. One of the two first white men that ever saw the Illinois River, Louis Joliet, at once recognized in it a waterway of the highest utility, and spontaneously suggested its better connection with the system of Great Lakes that there might be unimpeded intercourse over its waters between the Mississippi River and the Gulf of Mexico, into which it emptied, opening out into the Atlantic in the one direction and the Great Lakes, the St. Lawrence and the Atlantic Ocean in the other direction. The same advantages have been recognized by every statesman of breadth, as well as by well informed citizens and men of affairs since the days of Joliet, and yet this lordly channel lies unused and neglected,—one of God's noblest gifts, spurned by unappreciative man.²

² Ever since the territory through which the Illinois runs has been a political and geographical division the subject of improvement and development of this waterway has been agitated. The early missionaries and fur traders first directed attention to the nearness of Lake Michigan and the Illinois. The project of the construction of a canal was made the subject of a report by Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, in 1808, and in 1811 a bill on the subject was introduced in Congress in connection with the Erie and other canal enterprises. In 1822 Congress granted the right-of-way across the public lands "for the route of the canal connecting the Illinois River with the south bend of Lake Michigan," which was followed five years later by a grant of 300,000 acres of land to aid in its construction which was to be undertaken by the State of Illinois. The earliest surveys contemplated a channel 100 miles long, and the original estimates of cost varied between \$639,000 and \$716,000. Surveys and estimates in 1833 placed the cost of a canal 40 feet wide and 4 feet deep at \$4,040,000. In 1836 another Board of Commissioners was created and surveys were made looking to the construction of a waterway 60 feet wide at the surface, 36 feet at bottom, and 6 feet in depth. Work was begun in June, 1836; was suspended in 1841, and renewed in 1846, when a canal loan of \$1,000,000 was negotiated. The channel was opened for navigation in April, 1848, by which time the total outlay had reached \$6,170,226. By 1871 Illinois had liquidated its entire indebtedness on account of the canal, and the channel became the property of the State. The total cost up to 1879, including the amount refunded to Chicago, was \$9,513,831, while the canal earned through freight rates and the sale of canal lands and otherwise \$8,819,731.

For the want of improvements this canal, known as the Illinois-Michigan Canal, fell into disuse, and although the channel still exists and there is still a commission in charge, yet no attempt is made to use the canal.

Under an act passed by the legislature of Illinois in 1865, the work of deepening the canal was undertaken by the city of Chicago with a view to furnishing means to relieve the city of its sewage. This work was completed just before the fire of 1871. This improvement did not prove successful, and other

If we could but employ the silver tones of the rippling cascades, to be seen and heard in profusion along the course of this majestic stream, or the soft whir of the savage's paddles as he cleft its crystal waters and darted ghost-like up and down its course, or even the rhythmic cadences of the hunting songs as the voyagers pushed out to farther hunting grounds, we might make the story of the historic Illinois more fascinating.

We have no means of knowing the exact date upon which the Illinois River was first seen by the eyes of white men. We can approximate that interesting date. Father James Marquette, S. J., and Louis Jolliet, with several Indian and a few French companions passed down the Mississippi River from the mouth of the Wisconsin in the months of June and July, as far as the mouth of the Arkansas River. On the 17th of July, 1673, they turned about and pushed their canoes up the river, retracing their steps until they reached the mouth of the Illinois River. Suppose we allow them fifteen days for the arduous passage up the Mississippi, against the strong current of that stream. This would bring them to the mouth of the Illinois about August 3rd. Father Marquette in the description of his journey doesn't give us the date, but he records his impression of the surroundings. He and his companions have traveled down Green Bay to the mouth of the Fox River, then up the Fox River to near its source, where they left that river, and carried their canoes to the Wisconsin River, then pushed down the Wisconsin to the Mississippi, then proceeded all the way down the Mississippi to the Arkansas, and back to the mouth of

plans were put forward. At the general election held November 5, 1889, the "Sanitary District of Chicago" was organized by an almost unanimous popular vote, and the trustees elected under the act creating the Sanitary District constructed a channel beginning at the point where the present Robey Street of Chicago intersects the south branch of the Chicago River, and extending to a point near Lockport in Will County, which is said to be one of the finest ship canals in the world.

This work had the effect of reversing the current of the Chicago River. Whereas up to that time that river flowed into Lake Michigan, since the construction of this channel the course of the stream has been changed, and now 600,000 cubic feet of water per minute flow out of Lake Michigan through the Chicago River into the drainage canal.

The problem of water transportation, accordingly, is solved from Chicago to Lockport. Nothing remains to be done, therefore, but to improve the Illinois River between Lockport and La Salle, a distance of 64 miles. As noted above, this improvement has all been provided for by law, and waits only the will of the Governor to set it in motion. See Historical Sketch, Pub. No. 11, Illinois State Hist. Library, p. 153, *et. seq.*

the Illinois. After having viewed all the territory along these several waters Father Marquette exclaims in admiration :

“We have seen nothing like this river that we enter as regards its fertility of soil, its prairies and woods, its cattle, elk, deer, wild cat, bustards, swans, ducks, paroquettes, and even beaver. There are many small lakes and rivers. That on which we sailed is wide, deep and still for 65 leagues. In the spring and during part of the summer there is only one portage of half a league,”³

meaning by this latter remark that having followed the course of the river upward and carried their canoes to the head waters of the south branch of the Chicago River, they reached Lake Michigan with “only one portage of half a league.”

Let us in thought cast our minds back to the latter part of July and nearly the whole of the month of August of 1673, two hundred and forty-nine years ago, and consider the very beginning of civilization in the region which we have inherited. Looking from some point of vantage as the little fleet of birch bark canoes emerges from the Mississippi, and begins the ascent of the Illinois, we would see as the most striking figure in the little group of explorers a tall, slender, dark young man, thirty-seven years of age, clad in a black robe, encircled by a beaded girdle, from which hangs a metal crucifix. The spiritualized visage is clearly that of the devout ascetic and already rigors and privations have made inroads upon the delicately nurtured personality. We can believe that he wore a glorified expression, for he has by toil and sacrifice succeeded in the accomplishment of at least one of the great objects of his life,—he has discovered and explored the father of waters, so long the quest of inquiring Frenchmen, as well as the subject of romantic narrative of the Indian. He has named it, as he promised he would, the River of the Conception, and is now returning to gain strength and complete arrangements to carry out the second great object of his life, namely, the establishment of the Church in the newly discovered region.

By his side we can see the stalwart form of the still younger man, Louis Jolliet, who has long since caught the inspiration of his older companion, and who, while representing the secular interests of his sovereign, understands completely the vast importance of Father Marquette's mission. Jolliet is but 26, a mere boy, but has already proven himself worthy under drastic tests, and has so recommended himself to his superiors that he is selected to represent his sovereign

³ Marquette's Letter, Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 59, translated in Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, p. 228, *et. seq.*

in one of the most important errands ever undertaken by the French in the new world.

These then are the two heralds of civilization, the two white men who first looked upon Illinois' soil, and first swept over the bosom of the river, which, for nearly a century and a half after their advent, was, to all intents and purposes, Illinois. From the day of the birth of each to the summer days of 1673 no fault was ever recorded against either. During the two years succeeding this memorable first entry of white men into Illinois, Father Marquette heaped up upon his measure of merit additional good works, and died in an odor of sanctity, with not even a breath of criticism or censure. Louis Jolliet had a longer career, but in every respect an eminently worthy one.

Accordingly, Illinois is fortunate in its two noble pathfinders, and it should be the occasion of no surprise if the region they discovered, throughout its length and breadth, were dotted over with monuments and memorials in their honor, or if the course of the Illinois River, which they threaded first of all white men, were studded from end to end with markers and tablets describing their journeyings. Alas! one may traverse Illinois from its northern border to Cairo, and from Danville to Quincy, and encounter not the slightest evidence indicating that such a man as James Marquette ever lived. No public monument, memorial or tablet has ever been raised to James Marquette within the boundaries of Illinois, and but slight recognition accorded him, in the naming of cities, streets or buildings. Louis Jolliet has fared slightly better, since a bronze monument stands in front of the public library in the city of Joliet also named in his honor.

It would perhaps be nearer in keeping with an article of a historical character to remain content with this mere statement, but two hundred and fifty years is long enough to remain silent with reference to such a grave, really indecent neglect. How can the people of Illinois justify a failure to extend due honor to Marquette and Jolliet. The situation is acute. It is more than unfortunate. It has become offensive. It seems to the writer that the people of Illinois do not dare permit the 250th anniversary of Marquette's coming to Illinois to pass unnoticed or unmarked. Every citizen rests under a heavy obligation to do justice in this regard, but Catholics especially will prove themselves beneath contempt and wholly unworthy of their claims if they fail worthily to observe next year the 250th anniversary of this momentous event, and to see that these heralds of civilization and Christianity are appropriately memorialized.⁴

⁴ The Illinois State Council of the Knights of Columbus has adopted resolu-

FIRST LANDINGS FROM THE ILLINOIS RIVER

It may not have occurred to Marquette and Jolliet that millions of men destined to become acquainted with the region they traversed would be eager to know everything they did on this momentous journey. At any rate, the narrative of their activities is extremely meager:—how long it required them to pass from point to point, how often they left their canoes to seek game, fruit or food on the adjoining shore, what the state of the weather was, and other details we are not advised of. Father Marquette does record, however, two stops made in the course of the journey up the Illinois, the first of which he speaks of as follows:

“We passed through the Illinois of Peoria, and during three days I preached the Faith in all their cabins, after which while we were embarking a dying child was brought to me at the water’s edge, and I baptized it shortly before it died, through an admirable act of Providence for the salvation of that innocent soul.”⁵

This was the manner then in which white men were first introduced to the neighborhood which has become the flourishing city of Peoria. For three days one of the first men of the white race that ever looked upon the site of Peoria went about in the cabins of the savages and “preached the Faith.” As a climax to this introduction of Christianity and civilization he, on the third day of this first visit, poured the regenerating waters of redemption upon a savage child, and thus sent a spotless little messenger to Heaven to open its portals for the train of saved souls destined for delivery at the hands of the holy men who succeeded him.

Again they take to their canoes and without advising us as to the difficulties that may have intervened or of other details which we would eagerly learn, the earnest missionary tells us, “We found * * * a village of Illinois called Kaskaskia, consisting of 74 cabins. They received us very well and obliged me to promise that I would return to instruct them. One of the chiefs of this nation with his young men escorted us to the Lake of the Illinois.”⁶

These, then, are the outstanding incidents of the first journey of white men over the Illinois River,—the stop at the village of the Peoria Indians, near what is now Peoria, the preaching, teaching and exhortation of the Indians in “all their cabins,” and the baptism of

tions looking to an observance of this anniversary in connection with the annual convention which will be held in Quincy in May, 1923.

⁵ Marquette’s Letter, *op. cit.*

⁶ *Ib.*

the dying child. The visit to the Kaskaskia Indians in their village, located as we will see later on the site of what is now Utica, religious discussion there, and a promise to 'return to instruct them.'

These momentous incidents single out and make conspicuous two points in Illinois, now marked by the cities of Peoria and Utica. In almost every other state of the Union and the world over important historic sites are at some time appropriately memorialized. It is not of course every State or every country that can point definitely to the particular spot or spots where civilization first begun, or in a more interested sense, possibly, where Christianity was born. We are more fortunate than many others in that regard, for we are able to determine beyond doubt or peradventure just where these great events took place. Yet the people of the state of Illinois or of the United States, or the denizens of the great city of Peoria, or the flourishing community of Utica, have never raised a finger to make known these sites to the world. Travelers may come and go, children in large numbers may be born, may develop to youth and manhood, may attend schools and colleges; indeed, and may die ignorant of the fact that in their immediate neighborhood the first bearers of civilization and Christianity halted and hallowed by their presence the very ground over which they have trod.

How can the state of Illinois, the nation, indeed communities like Peoria and Utica justify their indifference, if not ignorance, of these stupendous facts. Is it possible, for example, that the city of Peoria shall permit the 250th anniversary of the visit of the first white men to its confines, which will occur in the summer of 1923, to pass without being noted, or longer to permit the approximate site of the first Christian ministration, the first sacrament on the soil of Mid-America to go unmarked? A similar inquiry might be uttered relative to the city of Utica and its surroundings.

By the end of the year 1673 the world possessed the knowledge of a new domain, richer than monarchs had ever dreamed of. The knowledge of the lordly Mississippi and the stately Illinois and their fertile valleys became the inheritance of civilized men. Had nothing else than that related of the Illinois River by Father Marquette after his journey occurred along that stream, Illinois would nevertheless be entitled to a prominent place in history. But the visit of Marquette and Jolliet in 1673 was but the prelude to a series of events and incidents that for interest, romance, and importance measure up with the most notable events of all time.

FATHER MARQUETTE FULFILLS HIS PROMISE

At the village of the Kaskaskia Indians, as will be remembered, Father Marquette says the savages "obliged me to promise that I would return to instruct them." The Kaskaskias were not the first group of Illinois to which he had made this promise. It will be remembered that when on his way down the Mississippi he visited and spent three days at a large village of savages on the west side of the Mississippi, now understood to be near the mouth of the Des Moines River, which visit has been made especially famous by Longfellow in his *Hiawatha*. He told the chief he "would come the following year and reside with them to instruct them." No doubt both these promises were made in good faith, as the intrepid missionary undoubtedly hoped to spend the rest of his life amongst the Illinois, and expected to travel from one point to another in ministering to them.

The trite proverb which declares that "man proposes and God disposes" had peculiar application, however, in the case of Father Marquette. The rigors of the mission field had already registered their effects upon his delicate constitution, and he found himself for months prostrated after his return from the first journey into the interior of the country.

As soon as he was well enough, however, which was on the 25th of October, 1674, he began his second journey for the fulfilling of his promise to the Indians and the great object of his life, the establishment of the Church in this new field. The story of his trip down Lake Michigan, his landing at the mouth of the Chicago River on December 4, 1674, his stay on the banks of the lake at the foot of what is now Madison Street for seven days, his trip up the Chicago River by way of the main channel and the south branch to a point now marked by the junction of Robey Street, and the drainage channel, his dwelling there in a cabin until the 29th of March, 1675, all absorbingly interesting, is yet only indirectly related to the subject of this paper, which deals particularly with the Illinois River.

Accordingly, we are justified in taking up Marquette's career where we find him on the Illinois River on the 8th of April, 1675. Here he is present in person in fulfillment of the promise he made to the Kaskaskia tribe.

Always, since we have become acquainted with him, delicate, he is now but just risen from a bed of sickness under the spur of an unalterable determination to fulfil a great purpose which he has proposed to himself to establish the Church and consecrate the first mission to the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Just what he did in fulfillment of this pledge and purpose is fortunately made known to us in detail by one who had contemporary knowledge of the occurrence, the Superior of the Mission, Father Claude Dablon, S. J.

“On at last arriving at the village, he was received as an angel from Heaven. After he had assembled at various times the chiefs of the nation, with all the old men, that he might sow in their minds the first seeds of the Gospel, and after having given instruction in the cabins, which were always filled with a great crowd of people, he resolved to address all in public, in a general assembly, which he called together in the open air, the cabins being too small to contain all the people. It was a beautiful prairie, close to a village, which was selected for the great council; this was adorned, after the fashion of the country, by covering it with mats and bear-skins. Then the Father, having directed them to stretch out on lines several pieces of Chinese taffeta, attached to these four large pictures of the Blessed Virgin, which were visible on all sides. The audience was composed of 500 chiefs and elders, seated in a circle around the Father, and of all the young men, without counting the women and children, who are always numerous, the village being composed of five or six hundred fires. The Father addressed the whole body of people, and conveyed to them ten messages, by means of ten presents, which he gave them. He explained to them the principal mysteries of our religion, and the purpose that had brought him to their country. Above all, he preached to them Jesus Christ, on the very eve (of that great day) on which he had died upon the Cross for them, as well as for all the rest of mankind; then he said Holy Mass. On the third day after, which was Easter Sunday, things being prepared in the same manner as on Thursday, he celebrated the holy mysteries for the second time; and by these two, the only sacrifices ever offered there to God, he took possession of that land in the name of Jesus Christ, and gave to that mission the name of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin.

“He was listened to by all those peoples with universal joy; and they prayed him with most earnest entreaty to come back to them as soon as possible, since his sickness obliged him to return. The Father, on his side, expressed to them the affection which he felt for them, and the satisfaction that they had given him; and pledged them his word that he, or some other of our Fathers, would return to carry on that mission so happily inaugurated. This promise he repeated several times, while parting with them to go upon his way; and he set out with so many tokens of regard on the part of those good peoples that, as a mark of honor, they chose to escort him for more than thirty leagues on the road, vying with each other in taking charge of his slender baggage.”⁷

⁷ Dablon, Relation of Father Marquette's Second Voyage, Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 59.

THE SITE OF THE NEW FOUND CHURCH

Thus was established the Church in Mid-America. Too much emphasis cannot be laid upon this momentous event. It possesses the attributes of authority, precedence and continuity. Father Marquette came with explicit authority to establish the Church. His act constituted the first step in the organization of Christianity in a new, distinct and tremendously important field. His work was enduring, and the particular mission founded by him has existed uninterruptedly to the present time.

Accordingly, every detail connected with this remarkable event is of the profoundest interest, and it would be natural if Christians especially would exert every effort to preserve the memory of each circumstance.

Amongst the items of prime importance in connection with this first establishment of the Church in the great region roughly covered into what is known as the Mississippi Valley, is the site upon which the event took place, and while there has been some speculation with reference thereto, there is virtually unanimous agreement amongst those who have undertaken any investigation of the matter that Francis Parkman, the historian, who visited the Illinois River for the very purpose of attempting to locate this and other important sites, was entirely correct in his conclusions. Writing expressly of the location of the Indian village visited by Father Marquette for the purpose of establishing the Church Mr. Parkman says:

THE SITE OF THE GREAT ILLINOIS TOWN.—This has not till now been determined, though there have been various conjectures concerning it. From a study of the contemporary documents and maps, I became satisfied, first, that the branch of the river Illinois, called the "Big Vermilion," was the *Aramoni* of the French explorers; and, secondly, that the cliff called "Starved Rock" was that known to the French as *Le Rocher*, or the Rock of St. Louis. If I was right in this conclusion, then the position of the Great Village was established; for there is abundant proof that it was on the north side of the river, above the *Aramoni*, and below *Le Rocher*. I accordingly went to the village of Utica, which, as I judged by the map, was very near the point in question, and mounted to the top of one of the hills immediately behind it, whence I could see the valley of the Illinois for miles, bounded on the farther side by a range of hills, in some parts rocky and precipitous, and in others covered with forests. Far on the right was a gap in these hills, through which the Big Vermilion flowed to join the Illinois; and somewhat towards the left, at the distance of a mile and a half, was a huge cliff, rising perpendicularly from the opposite margin of the river. This I assumed to be *Le Rocher* of the French, though from where I stood I was unable to discern the distinc-

tive features which I was prepared to find in it. In every other respect, the scene before me was precisely what I had expected to see. There was a meadow on the hither side of the river, on which stood a farm-house; and this, as it seemed to me, by its relations with surrounding objects, might be supposed to stand in the midst of the space once occupied by the Illinois town.

On the way down from the hill, I met Mr. James Clark, the principal inhabitant of Utica, and one of the earliest settlers of this region. I accosted him, told him my objects, and requested a half hour's conversation with him, at his leisure. He seemed interested in the inquiry, and said he would visit me early in the evening at the inn, where, accordingly, he soon appeared. The conversation took place in the porch, where a number of farmers and others were gathered. I asked Mr. Clark if any Indian remains were found in the neighborhood. "Yes," he replied, "plenty of them." I then inquired if there was any one spot where they were more numerous than elsewhere. "Yes," he answered again, pointing towards the farm-house on the meadow: "on my farm down yonder by the river, my tenant plows up teeth and bones by the peck every spring, besides arrow-heads, beads, stone hatchets, and other things of that sort." I replied that this was precisely what I had expected, as I had been led to believe that the principal town of the Illinois Indians once covered that very spot. "If," I added, "I am right in this belief, the great rock beyond the river is the one which the first explorers occupied as a fort; and I can describe it to you from their accounts of it, though I have never seen it, except from the top of the hill where the trees on and around it prevented me from seeing any part but the front." The men present now gathered around to listen. "The rock," I continued, "is nearly a hundred and fifty feet high, and rises directly from the water. The front and two sides are perpendicular and inaccessible; but there is one place where it is possible for a man to climb up, though with difficulty. The top is large enough and level enough for houses and fortifications." Here several of the men exclaimed: "That's just it. You've hit it exactly." I then asked if there was any other rock on that side of the river which could answer to the description. They all agreed that there was no such rock on either side, along the whole length of the river. I then said: "If the Indian town was in the place where I suppose it to have been, I can tell you the nature of the country which lies behind the hills on the farther side of the river, though I know nothing about it, except what I have learned from writings nearly two centuries old. From the top of the hills, you look out upon a great prairie reaching as far as you can see, except that it is crossed by a belt of woods, following the course of a stream which enters the main river a few miles below." (See ante, p. 206, note.) "You are exactly right again," replied Mr. Clark, "we call that belt of timber the 'Vermilion Woods,' and the stream is the Big Vermilion." "Then," I said, "the Big Vermilion is the river which the French called the Aramoni; 'Starved Rock' is the same on which they

built a fort called St. Louis, in the year 1682; and your farm is on the site of the great town of the Illinois.”

I spent the next day in examining these localities, and was fully confirmed in my conclusions. Mr. Clark's tenant showed me the spot where the human bones were ploughed up. It was no doubt the graveyard violated by the Iroquois. The Illinois returned to the village after their defeat, and long continued to occupy it. The scattered bones were probably collected and restored to their place of burial.⁸

As has been stated, there has of course been some speculation concerning other locations for this Indian village and the Indian burying ground, which is always a near neighbor. Down at Starved Rock attendants and habitués will tell you that this famous meeting of Father Marquette's, at which he established the Church, occurred on the little plateau just west of the big rock, now known as Starved Rock, and immediately adjoining the ferry landing, and that the village burying ground stood on the little eminence exactly where the Starved Rock Hotel is now located. In proof of these assertions they point to the fact that more than a score of skeletons of Indians were taken from the ground when the excavations were made for the hotel.

The evidence, however, all seems to be in favor of the site described by Parkman, but Starved Rock and its surroundings are of extreme historical interest, and will be made the subject of a subsequent paper in this series.

Now assuming that we know the immediate vicinity, if not the identical spot, upon which the Church was founded (the evidence is overwhelming and who will gainsay it), and noting that nearly two hundred and fifty years have passed since that eventful Holy Thursday, is it not to be expected of residents and heirs to the civilization and Christian development so propitiously begun, that appropriate action be taken to memorialize the great event, and to honor the founder of Christianity and the father of civilization in the region?

One cannot contemplate this momentous event without being convinced that the 250th anniversary thereof, which will occur on April 11, 1925, should be observed with rejoicing throughout all Mid-America, but especially in Illinois, and that some permanent memorial should be set up in honor, both of the devoted founder and the important event.

At a point as nearly as can possibly be ascertained an appropriate monument or shrine should be raised, and that done the hallowed spot will become the object of pious pilgrimage throughout the land.

⁸ *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, 11th Ed., Little Brown & Co., pp. 223-4.

On the other hand, should this present generation fail to take note of this great anniversary, it will prove itself unworthy of the blessings and advantages of the Christianity and civilization of which Father Marquette was the herald and which has lifted Mid-America to its present lofty position.

JOSEPH J. THOMPSON.

Chicago.

POINTS IN ILLINOIS HISTORY—A SYMPOSIUM

This most interesting discussion is continued in this number by Mr. Milo M. Quaife of Madison, Wisconsin.

I am invited to contribute some notes to the discussion, begun in the April issue of this magazine, of some mooted "Points" in Illinois history. I am glad to respond to the invitation, for I can think of no method better calculated to disclose historical truths than the one adopted by the editor in the present instance.

Point No. 1: Who were the first white men to reach the Illinois country and the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers?

This question, I venture to suggest, can never be answered with assurance. No fact can be more certain than this, that men frequently perform deeds of which no deliberate record is made; or that records carefully made are lost to the knowledge of the world for shorter or longer periods, often, alas, forever. I think there is every reason to suppose, from the nature of the case, that white men visited Chicago before the summer of 1673, possibly many times. But in the absence of any records of such visits, for practical purposes we must ascribe the honor of primacy to Joliet and Marquette, who first made report to the outside world of such a visit. We credit the invention of the steamboat to Fulton even though we know that other men had worked on the problem in advance of him. In the same sense Jolliet and Marquette deserve to be recognized as the discoverers of the upper Mississippi, the Illinois, and the site of Chicago. Parenthetically, I should like to enter my protest against the habit of many, including, I believe, the learned editor of this REVIEW, of mentioning Marquette first when bracketing the two explorers' names in connection with this momentous expedition. I yield precedence to no one in admiration for Father Marquette. His true merits were such that he has no need of other distinction than that properly belonging to him. He was not the commander of this expedition and any statement, even by implication, that he was is misleading.

Point No. 4: Is there any foundation for the belief that a serious quarrel existed between La Salle and the members of the Jesuit order?

I venture to suggest that there is more foundation for this belief than one would gather from Father Kenny's answer to the question (April issue, pp. 360-61). At any rate, the "stone" is not of recent

origin, for as early as 1687, the year of La Salle's death, we have Henri Joutel's narrative of the lively perturbation of Father Allouez at Fort St. Louis when told that La Salle (the fact of whose recent death the travelers were keeping secret) was likely soon to visit that place. Unfortunately there is no accurate or complete English translation of Joutel's narrative in print so that only those familiar with the French language have access to it; but by the courtesy of the Michigan Historical Commission, which has a complete and careful translation in manuscript, the writer of these notes was able to publish a few years since that portion pertaining to Fort St. Louis and Chicago (in *The Development of Chicago, 1674-1914*, pp. 21-36).

Point No. 8: Concerning the name Chicago:

I do not suppose the question of the origin and significance of the name Chicago can ever be absolutely determined, but I should like to clear away one or two evident misconceptions in this connection, and to propound a theory of my own in the premises.

To the former point, then, the statement of the Editor (April issue, p. 366, footnote 6) that the wild garlic explanation of the name is of "quite recent" origin, is clearly incorrect; Joutel, in 1687, thus explains the term, and all will agree that so far as Chicago is concerned 1687 is a date of considerable antiquity. Joutel was paying his first visit to the place, and indeed to Illinois, and he gives his authority for the definition as "what we were told"—but whether the information came from the Indians or from the Frenchmen at Fort St. Louis is not stated. A more important consideration, perhaps, is whether the information given Joutel was correct. I do not think it was, as I shall shortly endeavor to show.

Nor can I accept the theory of Father Kenny and the Editor that the name of the place came from that of the chief, Chicagou, who seems to have resided somewhere in the vicinity of Kaskaskia in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. I confess to but a hazy knowledge of this chief's career, but in this I seem to enjoy the company of most students of Illinois history. One fact, however, of considerable pertinence stands out: Chicagou responded to the call of D'Artaguiette, and led his warriors southward in the disastrous Chickasaw expedition, from which the French commander never returned. Now this was in 1736, and it is probably safe to assume that the chieftain was not more than sixty years of age at the time.¹ I do not know when the name Chicago first appears of record, but it was certainly in familiar use by La Salle and others from 1681

¹ The probability is, of course, that he was considerably younger; I suggest sixty merely as the possible maximum.

onward. This is fifty-five years before the Chickasaw expedition, and I humbly submit that it is not credible that Chicagou could have been old enough in 1681 to have acquired the distinction necessary to fixing his name to the region adjacent to the Chicago River.

My own theory with respect to the name can best be stated, perhaps, by repeating the footnote appended to Joutel's explanation in my *Development of Chicago, 1673-1914*:

"Much discussion has been waged, and so-called wit indulged, over the question of the significance of the name of Chicago. Most commonly it is thought to signify skunk, or, as here, wild onion. With no pretension to speak as an authority in the field of Indian philology I venture to hazard the opinion that the true significance of the word is simply great or strong. If so it might readily have become associated with the name either of the plant of the animal just mentioned, or with both. There is a river in Iowa known today as the Skunk. On Prince Maximilian's map of 1832-34 this stream is denominated "Checaguar." On Joseph Nicollet's map of the upper Mississippi published by the War Department in 1843, it is laid down as the "Shikagu or Skunk" River. On the other hand, La Salle's Fort Crevecoeur on Lake Peoria, doubtless the only structure more imposing than a wigwam they had ever seen, was dubbed by the Indians "Checagou." It seems obvious that this did not mean skunk to them, and probable that it did mean great, or large. On an old Spanish map which I have seen (but to which, unfortunately, I am now unable to refer) dating from the exploration of DeSoto, the Mississippi bears a name which is obviously the same from which the cognomen of the second city of America is derived. Other similar illustrations might easily be supplied but I forbear, since this note is intended to be suggestive only, rather than exhaustive. That variations occur in the spelling of the name signifies nothing. The Indian languages were developed entirely independent of any thought of accomodating them to English orthography. Upwards of forty different ways of spelling Chicago have been noted; half as many, probably, might easily be supplied for Milwaukee."

Point Number 3: Concerning the location of Father Pinet's mission of the Guardian Angel:

I have reserved this for consideration last because it will be necessary to devote to its discussion more space than I have given to any of the Editor's other points. Father Kenny (April issue, p. 367) concedes that in my discussion of the subject in my book, *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, published in 1913, I have quite disposed of Mr. Grover's contention that the mission of Father Pinet

was north of Chicago in the vicinity of modern Gross Point; but he states I do not meet the arguments advanced in favor of the Calumet region by Mr. Henry W. Lee in his article "*The Calumet Portage*," published in the *Transactions* of the Illinois Historical Society for 1912, pp. 24 ff; and the Editor of the *Review* presents a footnote invitation, reenforced more recently by a personal letter, to me to traverse the ground covered by Mr. Lee's article.

I cannot well evade this challenge without seeming to confess inability to defend my case, and I cannot meet it without indulging in plain speaking. I do not enjoy the good fortune of personal acquaintance with Mr. Lee, nor the ill fortune of any occasion for personal difference. There is, therefore, nothing of feeling in what may follow, but only a desire to clarify a point, heretofore moot, in Chicago's early history. Mr. Lee is himself a hard-hitting antagonist, and I have no doubt he will cheerfully concede to another the freedom of debate which he himself employs.

Since my book (*Chicago and the Old Northwest*) had been published a year before Mr. Lee's article appeared in print, I could hardly, in it, take direct notice of his contentions. But I am still unable, after several years' time for reflection, to perceive that he has afforded any new light on the subject, and I much mistrust whether any one who approaches a historical discussion in the state of mind which evidently governed Mr. Lee could achieve such a result. It is both impossible and unnecessary to traverse here all of the mass of data, arguments, and assertions which he has brought together. As to his attitude, it is sufficient to note that he is a crusader, burdened with a sense of injury. He clearly implies that all students of Chicago history, barring a certain few (two only being named) who have chanced to agree with him, have been engaged in a conspiracy to boost Chicago's commercial interests, to the manifest perversion of historic truth, and the material injury of the Calumet region.

This is an accusation of considerable gravity, and if true should destroy forever the repute for candor and scholarship of those who are its objects. Speaking as one not personally affected (for Mr. Lee's article was prepared a year before my book was printed, although not published until a year after that event), I venture to assert that such a conspiracy never existed outside the author's own imagination. If it did, among its architects and abettors we must include such men as Francis Parkman and Justin Winsor, Lewis Cass, and even Anthony Wayne, who at Greenville in 1795 compelled the reluctant savages to cede to the United States a tract of land

six miles square at Chicago—not to mention a long list of officials at Washington who in course of time gave effect to this cession by identifying the tract and establishing Fort Dearborn at the mouth of Chicago River, instead of the Calumet where it probably belonged.

The charge breaks down from the weight of its own inherent absurdity; but if positive evidence were needed it is afforded, although unwittingly, by Mr. Lee himself. The two sole authorities he is able to cite in support of his contentions are Mr. Hagar and Mr. Moses—both Chicagoans, and secretaries in turn of the Chicago Historical Society. This society has always been a purely local institution dominated by a comparatively select, not to say prosperous, group of Chicagoans. Were Hagar and Moses so disloyal to their employers, or so unmidful of the continuance of their salary checks, as to betray, deliberately and in print, the great conspiracy? Or did they, like honest gentlemen state their views concerning the particular historical issue, founded in the light of such information and judgment as they possessed, and in the knowledge that the Society which employed them was not primarily concerned with perverting historic truths in order thereby to boost Chicago commercially? This question, I submit, answers itself.

Having, as I trust, cleared the air with respect to the imagined conspiracy of students of early Chicago history against the welfare of the Calumet region, I proceed to the constructive argument. Mr. Lee has manifested commendable zeal in assembling data, but his handling of the data thus collected betrays, I am disposed to feel, a certain lack of scholarly depth and insight. In support of this impression I venture to offer two or three specific illustrations, typical of the many with which the article abounds.

Thus, he early states (p. 24) that the red men loved the priests, and draws the conclusion that they entertained them lavishly and conducted them "by pleasant places to their own favorite retreats." Not necessarily, or always. The Indian was a highly emotional child of nature, subject to strange whims, superstitions, and tantrums. The narrative of Father Menard is but one of many a familiarity with which would have prevented Mr. Lee from drawing the conclusion here advanced by him.

Again, it is stated (p. 39) that Lieutenant Jefferson Davis, as army engineer, was intrusted in 1833 with the duty of surveying and reporting upon the Calumet and Chicago Rivers, and that his report urgently advocates "the superior commercial merits of the Calumet." Mr. Lee does not cite any authority for his statement, but I am confident that Professor Dodd, Professor Fleming, and other biographers

of Jefferson Davis would be very glad to have him do so. I have myself made a somewhat diligent study of the army period of Davis' career, and I venture to say that neither in 1833 nor at any other time did he have anything to do with such a survey.

Again, let us note the statement (p. 39) that in the Library of Congress Mr. Lee found, in *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. I, p. 113, official evidence that there was a military garrison at Chicago in 1796, seven years prior to the establishment of Fort Dearborn. Now this is not a rare volume, and no one need go to Washington to consult it. It may be had in any good reference library, including half a dozen in Chicago. Turning to the page in question, what do we find? Merely that Timothy Pickering has submitted to the House Committee on the Military Establishment of the United States, which was then considering the question of the permanent reorganization of the army, following the recent close of the Northwestern Indian War, his ideas concerning the establishment which should be worked out. In other words, *this is a recommendation for future action*, not a statement of existing conditions or past achievement. Its significance, which Mr. Lee succeeds in completely misstating, consists merely in the fact that in 1796 Timothy Pickering, a high official, believed it good policy, in defense of the frontier, to place a garrison at Chicago. Let it be noted that he does not say at the Calumet.

Again, to the many interpretations of the word Chicago heretofore advanced, Mr. Lee has added another (p.25), "land without trees," and much is made of the supposed fact that Chicago was a treeless plain, unfit for human habitation (p. 25, 33). Since, however, Joutel has given a detailed account of maple-sugar-making at Chicago in the spring of 1687, Mr. Lee goes over to Miller, Indiana, and there finds "large woods" at the ancient mouth of the Calumet, thereby demonstrating that when Joutel said he came from Fort St. Louis to Chicago, he meant to say the mouth of the Grand Calumet at Miller, Indiana.

With no desire to dispare the forests of Miller, Indiana, I am yet constrained to call attention to a fatal flaw in the chain of argument employed by Mr. Lee. It is quite untrue that there were no trees at Chicago, and it passes my comprehension how the greatest living authority (p. 29: Hagar and Moses are long since dead) on the history of the place could even entertain, much less advance, such an assertion. Copies of Andreas' *History of Chicago* are not rare, or difficult of access, and any reader may quickly satisfy himself with respect to this particular point by a glance at the map of Chicago

in 1830 (Vol. I, following p. 112), or the one of Chicago in 1812, on p. 81, first published by Mrs. Kinzie in 1844. If he asks still further authority, let him turn to the first official map ever made of Chicago, drawn by Captain John Whistler in 1808, and reproduced by me in my *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, p. 164. Since Whistler built Fort Dearborn, and had commanded it for five years before he drew this map for the official files of the War Department, I venture to question whether even Mr. Lee is equal to the task of spiriting his trees away to Miller, Indiana.

It is impossible to run down, in like detailed fashion, all of the arguments and assertions in Mr. Lee's 12,000 word discussion; nor am I able, I confess, to perceive what connection, if any, much of his material has with his major thesis. That thesis, briefly stated, is, that from the time of Jolliet and Marquette's visit of 1673 onward until the end of the wilderness period travelers over the Illinois River route between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi habitually crossed from the Lake to the Des Plaines (or *vice versa*) by way of the Sag and the Calumet. In other words, the Chicago Portage is erased from the pages of recorded history.

This no inconsiderable exploit, one the achievement of which should win for the fortunate author the unstinted admiration and recognition of American scholarship. Why has such recognition and applause not been conferred upon him by our universities and historical societies in the years that have elapsed since the publication of his discovery? Are we to conclude that the "ill-begotten Babel of wealth, creators of nothing, surveyors of froth, go-betweens, usurpers and usurers of Chicago's natural growth, jailors of its symmetrical development, dogs in the manger, parasites" etc., etc., who according to Mr. Lee have "cheated the great Calumet region out of its birth-right for a century" have been able to bring within the circle of their influence the scholarship of the entire land, and deprive thereby, our author of the just rewards of his scholarship? Or is it that he has mistaken vociferous assertion for reasoned demonstration, and has therefore acquired no just claim to scholarly recognition?

I find myself constrained to accept the latter alternative, and I am content to rest my justification on three grounds, two of them of ancient origin, the other a recent occurrence. Returning for a moment to Anthony Wayne and the Greenville treaty of 1795, the purpose of the government in that negotiation was to exact conditions which would enable it, for the future to make effective its sovereignty over the great western country which had been won by the treaty of Paris of 1783. To this end, Wayne compelled the Indians to cede

the right of free transit over the natural highways of the country, which were, of course, the waterways. One of these highways was the Chicago-Illinois River route, and for its effective control the cession of reservations at Chicago, at Peoria, and at the mouth of the Illinois, for the erection of forts, was demanded and obtained.

Now, it will hardly be questioned that the Indians knew what they were ceding, even though it be claimed that the white men did not know what they were asking. They did not lack able spokesmen or eloquent orators, and they never hesitated, in the numerous councils held with the United States government, to air their grievances or to advocate their interests. According to Mr. Lee's contention, the six-mile-square cession at the mouth of Chicago River made to Wayne in the Greenville Treaty, conveyed for the erection of a fort to control the Lake Michigan end of the Illinois River route, was in fact a cession of land at the mouth of the Calumet (whether at South Chicago or over at Miller, Indiana, perhaps Mr. Lee can explain). Let us assume for the moment that he is correct; we are then confronted by the puzzling fact that in 1803 the government forgot the cession it had so hardly won at Greenville seven years before, and erected Fort Dearborn on another spot, title to which the Indians had never ceded; more puzzling still, why erect Fort Dearborn at all, if not to control the portage? And if the portage was at the Calumet, the fort might just as well have been erected at Sycamore, or at Syene, Wisconsin, or at any other spot in the Northwest Territory, as at the mouth of Chicago River. Furthermore, when the government put the fort on land to which it had no title, is it not passing strange that the Indians, whose rights were thus outraged, never uttered a word of complaint or protest? Substantially this thing was done by the government out in Wyoming in 1866; let anyone who doubts the red man's ability to make effective protest against such a wrong look up the history of Fort Phil. Kearny in Brady's or Mrs. Carrington's books.

My second ground has to do with the conduct of the traders, who at least from the time of Jolliet onward passed back and forth between the Illinois River country and Mackinac. Manifestly they had to make a portage between the river and the lake, and it will perhaps be admitted that, undeterred by Mr. Lee's nineteenth-century conspiracy against the Calumet, they followed, in doing so, the most eligible route the geography of the region in question afforded. Can Mr. Lee refer us to a single, unequivocal original narrative of any trader who ever went by the Calumet?

While waiting for a reply, let me direct the reader's attention to the practice of the American Fur Company, founded by John Jacob Astor, about the close of the War of 1812, to control the fur trade of the Northwest. In its employ were such men as Antoine Des Champs, superintendent of the Illinois River trade, who for forty years or more had pursued his calling in this region. We have, in the autobiography of Gurdon S. Hubbard, a remarkably clear and interesting account of how that trade was carried on. Annually in the autumn the fur brigade crept down the eastern coast of Lake Michigan and around its southern end to Chicago, whence, under conditions of toil and hardship almost incredible, the painful passage was made across the portage to the Des Plaines, or even a distance of fifty miles or more to the Illinois. Annually in the springtime advantage was taken of the flood caused by the melting snows to force the boats up the Des Plaines against the swift current to Chicago, in the manner so vividly described by Joutel as far back as 1687. What strange perversity actuated the traders thus to continue year after year, as Des Champs had been doing for a lifetime, when as Mr. Lee has amply demonstrated the infinitely better passage by the Calumet lay invitingly before them?

That the Chicago route was long and arduous Mr. Lee has shown; so desperately hard was it, in fact, that Hubbard, who was a man of vision and one of the keenest business men Chicago has ever known, vainly urged his chief to abandon it altogether, and when after several years he himself succeeded Des Champs as superintendent of the Illinois River trade, he promptly did so. In favor of the Calumet route? By no means. He abandoned it in favor of Indian ponies. In fact, the benighted Hubbard, creator of the famous Hubbard Trace to Danville, who knew the region around Chicago as a school-boy knows the alphabet, seems never to have heard of the Calumet Portage. If Mr. Lee asserts the contrary, it will remain for him to show why Hubbard, inheritor of all the lore of a long line of traders in Illinois, and husband of Watseka, the niece of Chief Tamin of the Kankakee band of Potawatomi, never deigned to make use of it. Was he, too, enmeshed in the vile conspiracy of a Chicago as yet unborn against the "birthright of the great Calumet region?"

My final consideration has to do with a notable legal battle which was waged at Chicago in the years from 1909 to 1917 (or thereabouts) between a private corporation and the state of Illinois (later, the United States) over the control of flowage on the Des Plaines River. Property interests of untold value were involved in the issue, and neither government nor corporation spared toil or expense in the ef-

fort to win the decision. Under the guidance of able attorneys (one of them has but recently succeeded to the place of Judge Landis on the Federal Bench) the country was scoured for witnesses who might shed any light on the case, and historical experts of such caliber as Professor McLaughlin of the University of Chicago, Professor Alvord, now of the University of Minnesota, and the late Reuben G. Thwaites of Wisconsin gave weeks and even months to the investigation. The legal question at issue was that of the navigability of the Des Plaines River, and its decision chiefly turned on the demonstration of the historical evidences of the use of the Chicago Portage. Seldom, if ever, has so exhaustive an investigation been made of a comparatively obscure point in American history. The libraries of the nation, and even some of foreign lands were put under requisition, and every fact and authority which the toil and ingenuity of many able workers, explained over months and even years of time, could evoke was brought to bear in the controversy. Yet the thousands of dollars expended and the thousands of pages of testimony piled up, the days and weeks of sharp cross examination of historical witnesses by batteries of keen-minded attorneys, aided and advised by the historians whom they had summoned to their assistance, evoked, so far as I can recall, not one single suggestion in support of Mr. Lee's great discovery that the Chicago Portage was in fact the Calumet. I am no blind worshipper of authorities, merely as such, but if Mr. Lee is right and these men gained no glimmer, even, of the fact, they surely should be awarded the world's booby prize for monumental stupidity and incompetence; and among the recipients of the award will be such men as Judge Wilkerson, Attorney Frank H. Scott, Professor Clarence W. Alvord, and Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites.

But after all it is ancient straw that we are threshing. Our author's discovery is not original with him; its main contention (minus the conspiracy idea) was advanced by Mr. Hagar in an address before the Chicago Historical Society on June 15, 1880; and the speaker's errors and misconceptions were effectively exposed by H. H. Hurlbut in his *Chicago Antiquities* (pp. 384-88) published the following year. Hurlbut anticipated by thirty years the conclusions of those engaged in the legal trial to which I have alluded and with his final rejoinder to Hagar I am content to close my case against Mr. Lee. "If Professor Hagar," says Hurlbut, "had shown us that the Calumet had long borne the name of Chicago; if he could establish a suspicion that it had been a common thoroughfare of the Indians from time immemorial from the lake to the Illinois; if he had shown us where, among the written words of early travelers, they speak

of the Calumet as a route of inland navigation, as Chicago has been spoken of by, for instance, La Salle, Tonty, Allouez, Joutel, La Fontan, St. Cosme, La Source, Gravier, etc., who each and all were here, then we would entertain his plea, but not otherwise."

The reader—if any—who has patiently followed me thus far, may well begin to wonder where in all this the Mission of the Guardian Angel comes in. I answer with a statement of Moses, which Mr. Lee, by quoting with approval (p. 30), has made his own: "As early as 1698 (1696, Father Pinet) a mission had been established among the Miamis, called Chicago. *It is evident that this mission was on the route usually followed by travelers, wherever that was, along the southwestern shore of Lake Michigan.*"

Quite so. And as surely as George Washington was George Washington and not George III or Julius Caesar, so surely was the Chicago Portage the Chicago, and not the Calumet. I rest with Hurlbut, who, in his criticism of Hagar, remarks: "He [Charlevoix] did not propose to reach the Illinois and Mississippi by way of Calumet Lake; *indeed we cannot remember of ever reading of any one who did.*"

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MISSIONARY ADVENTURES AMONG THE PEORIAS

During the century that followed its discovery by Father Marquette, the wide Illinois valley was colonized very slowly. Over its vast area wandered the hunter and the trapper, the Redskin and the halfbreed, without law and without master, except for the restraining influence of the missionary who sought them out in their remote encampments. An adventurer for Christ and the Gospel, he counted not the cost. He came and went, when and where his ministry called, entirely oblivious of personal comfort and unsparing in his efforts to win souls for Heaven.

In retrospect his career appears enveloped in a glamor of romance and daring, of perils surmounted and obstacles overcome. In reality his life was uninspiring, dreary and depressing. It called for constant traveling in a frail canoe in all sorts of weather, for tramping with a roving tribe on a dim trail stretching endlessly towards the horizon, living the while on coarse food seldom varied from season to season. The monotonous lonely days were followed by intensely lonely nights, the loneliness of the waste places that drives men mad if God be not their constant invisible companion.

The Peorias were the most refractory type of all the Illinois Indians. They were won to the faith only after a long and persistent struggle, the record of which has fortunately been preserved at least in part. The black-robos who labored amongst them, although cast in a heroic mold, courageous at all times and forgetful of self, were human none the less. Their life was never safe in the encampment where a frenzied brave might run amuck at any moment. They dreaded the dangers that lurked in the long prairie grass along the Indian trail. The brooding mystery of the dark silent forests depressed the stoutest spirits. Oftentimes in the American wilderness it required greater heroism to live than to die. The deadly tomahawk, the fiendish scalping knife, did their bloody work quickly and thoroughly. To walk and to dwell amidst filth and immorality, in the coarse surroundings their whole being loathed, among a tribe vicious and deaf to all high appeals, was a martyrdom worse than death. The vicissitudes of their checkered career, of their hopes and fears, their difficulties and tribulations, appear in a new light when reread in presence of all the changes civilization has brought about, a civilization

they had given up but could not forget while buried in the wilds. Primitive nature and primitive man have inspired many a rhapsody to those who have never contended with them. It is far otherwise with those who have seen, and have struggled undismayed against the fearful obstacles they presented at every step.

The missionaries amongst the Peoria tribe in the heyday of its savage strength paint the lights and the shadows with tragic accuracy. A temporary exultation might lead men like Father Gravier to these inhospitable nations. Only supernatural motives could have kept him there or made him go back after some harrowing experience when nature rebelled against the seemingly useless sacrifice. Father Gravier had taken up the burden laid down by his predecessor. He returned to them from the Miamis in March, 1693, to bless a new chapel and a cross nearly 35 feet high. They treated him with deference but remained cold and distant. He was determined to bring matters to a head:

As I showed that I was surprised by the indifference to instruction that I observed among the Peoria, notwithstanding the politeness with which the old men received me, one of them told me in confidence that his tribesmen had resolved to prevent the people from coming to the chapel to listen to me, because I inveighed against their customs and their juggleries; that they would, however, receive me well, in order to save appearances. I saw very well that this information was true. For the chief of the Peoria, who was the most prominent of all the jugglers, strongly opposed the Christian faith,—saying that it was important for the public welfare that no one should go to pray to God in the chapel any more until the corn was ripe and the harvest over; and that he would then exhort the people to go to be instructed.

We seem to hear an echo of the old Roman statesman when this aboriginal chief proscribes Christianity as dangerous for the public weal. At the bottom of his plea there was also the old cunning and greed.

The period that he fixed was a long one, for he thought that I would offer him a present to shorten it. Seeing that I could not rely upon a man as selfish as he, and one animated by no good will, I myself went to ask the inhabitants of the village to come to learn the road to heaven, without heeding the obstacles that the devil might oppose it. I met a band of weeping women lamenting over a dying child, who died as soon as I tried to approach him. The grandmother, who was not ignorant of the fact that I had baptized him a year ago, turned all her anger against me; after saying many harsh things against me, she threw herself against me like a fury, and violently pushed me out of the dwelling, for fear, she said, that through the enchantments of baptism I might give to her and to all those present some new cause for lamentation. I endured this insult with a calmness that surprised myself, praising God because He did me the honor of allowing me to suffer something for His glory and for the salvation of souls.

Such conduct was bound to impress even the coarsest natures. Indeed,

this woman's ill humor did not last long. Soon afterward she told me that some human consideration had led her to treat me thus.

But, sadly comments Father Gravier,

the death of some children who have been baptized, causes the missionary's approach to be viewed with apprehension when he visits the sick; and it is often thought that all is over with them when he administers baptism to them;

an attitude of mind that persists today in most mission countries.

It was this fear of baptism that shortly afterwards involved him in an argument on the immortality of the soul:

They told me that man died utterly; that, if the soul lived, as I said it did, men would be seen to come back on earth after their death.

So convinced were they of the soundness of their reasoning that they drove him out summarily from the lodge when he endeavored to confer the sacrament. The Father, however, had his revenge, such as they had not expected and could take no offense at. Three days later he gave a feast to all the Christians, according to custom.

On such occasions one has a right to say whatever he pleases to his guests, without their feeling hurt by it. I reproached some, whom I named, with their indifference and their want of assiduity in attending the meetings in the chapel to hear the instructions. I explained to all of them the manner of confessing, and the bonds of Christian marriage; I told them of the blessedness of the faithful, and of the favor that God has done them by placing them among the number of his adopted children. I told them that He looked with horror upon their relatives and countrymen who were so many slaves of the devil, and would burn with him forever in Hell, unless they became converted; and that moreover their good or evil example was of great weight in promoting or preventing the conversion of their relatives.

As he noted very little improvement among the older generation, he devoted all his energies to the instruction of the young. At times a ray of light shone through the darkness.

In the midst of a corrupt nation which indulges in licentiousness of every kind, I find a young widow whose parents, as is their wont, made her marry without taking the trouble to ascertain whether she wished to be married or not. She had not the courage to manifest to her parents the aversion that she felt for it; but she did have the courage to remain with her husband a long time without altering her first resolution. As he loved her dearly he would not take another wife; and when at the point of death, he told his wife's parents that he gave her back to them as they had given her to him. He begged his brother, who was unmarried, to marry her, assuring him that he had lived with her as with a sister; but she would never consent, notwithstanding the pressing solicitations of her

parents during three years. She desired greatly to become a Christian, but she did not venture to speak to me of it, although she made her companions tell me of it, and came to the chapel daily for four years. I baptized her last Spring. As she has bared the depths of her soul to me with much ingenuousness, I am convinced that she has a horror of everything that may be contrary to purity. She told me frankly that the resolution she had taken to live always alone—that is, not to marry—was due to the aversion that she felt for all that she heard and saw done by the married people of her country. She did not think that it was because God especially loves virgins, and she had not been taught to have that idea; but said that in future, she would always tell God that He alone possessed all her affections—that her heart was too small, and He too great, to divide it.

Intensely practical, he was not over-sanguine as to the outcome:

Since she has told me of her intentions, she has displayed admirable zeal in seeking to be instructed; and so far she has not belied herself. I endeavor to strengthen her in her resolutions against the inconstancy that is natural to these savages, and to persuade her that she must be on her guard as much against herself as against those with whom she has to live; and that otherwise she would soon neglect to perform the duties imposed on her by her baptism.

Such glad surprises were few and far between. Trouble was his common lot.

A young Peoria man—baptized long ago and well instructed, but who compelled me during the previous year to forbid him entrance to my lodging, and to threaten him with expulsion from the church—led his countrymen to believe that his chagrin would induce him to say and do everything that might be asked from him against Christianity. The chief of the Peoria and of all the jugglers, with some of his relatives,—of the same party and among the most notable persons of the village—omitted nothing to embitter his mind against the neophytes and against the missionary. ‘Thou wouldst not believe us,’ his relatives said to him; ‘thou wouldst attach thyself to the Black Gown, and he has . . . thee. We do not thus despise thee. We have pity on thee, and thou shalt have a share in our feasts. Let the Kaskaskia pray to God if they wish, and let them obey him who has instructed them. Are we Kaskaskia? And why shouldst thou obey him who art a Peoria? Since he has vexed thee, thou must declare publicly that thou abandonest prayer; that it is worthless.’ ‘I shall hold a feast,’ said the Peoria chief, ‘and I shall invite all the old men and all the chiefs of bands; thou also wilt be invited. As regards our medicines and what our grandfathers and ancestors have taught us, has this man who has come from afar, better medicines than we have, to make us adopt his customs? His fables are good only in his own country; we have ours which do not make us die as his do.’

As this typical example shows, human nature and human perversity are the same all over, whether the skin of the sophist be red or white. This apostate finally gave heed to the voice of conscience. He turned a deaf ear to his tempters.

In vain they assured him that I had toads wherewith I compounded poisons for the sick. Convinced as he was of the contrary, he took up my defense; and impelled by salutary remorse for his sin, he came to me to be reconciled to God.

Becoming courageous now, he did not hesitate to make open sport of the groundless beliefs of his tribesmen. They held the toad in superstitious awe and dreaded it as the sure harbinger of death. A bold medicine man, intent on vindicating its mysterious powers over life, invited a number of Indians to his lodge. Strutting to the middle of the cabin to pick up the bundle of rags in which he had wrapped up his toad, he uncovered it, and said to the old men assembled there:

My brothers, you will see that Antoine, the Christian, will bring about his own death if he merely smells of this cloth.

Antoine spoke up:

Let me die. I shall be content to do so to expose your deceitful practices. I will smell your toad.

A sudden silence fell on the bystanders who did not doubt that his rash act would cause his death on the spot. He took the bundle, smelled of it several times, and lifted the toad up to his nose. "And still I am not dead," he announced in triumph. "Thou wilt die shortly," replied the medicine-man. Antoine smelled of the toad again and again to taunt him. He remained in the cabin for two hours. The imposter, irritated at seeing his charm without effect, hung his head and said not another word, being quite ashamed and also quite surprised that the hated Christian did not die. The old men, wiser now, withdrew, saying to him: "We are convinced that Assapita—that was the juggler's name—has not told the truth, and we are glad to see that you are not dead." The jugglers, whose power over the people was waning, remained for a long time the bane of the missionary's existence: "Some openly oppose me," notes Father Gravier a little later; "and do all they can to cast discredit upon our religion. Those who are more wary, show me some politeness to save appearances, while in an underhand way they do everything in their power to prevent the savages from being instructed."

Winter came on and as the tribe were leaving for their winter quarters the Father went to the river watching for an opportunity to baptize babies who might be in danger of death.

The chief of the Peoria, who was surprised to see me standing at the water's edge, asked me what I was doing there. I replied jestingly that I wished to baptize his child, on which he began to joke. 'Be not surprised,' I said to him and to those who were present, 'if I have been standing here so long. I am much more surprised that no pity is shown to the children who are and who will be

the slaves of the devil if they die without baptism.' Although this reason was not an obvious one to them, I was permitted to baptize several privately.

The greatest obstacle to the introduction of Christianity was the almost unbelievable moral degradation of the tribes. To this point Father Gravier adverts repeatedly. Yet his efforts were not altogether without avail. And when some isolated cases, auguring a brighter future, came to his notice, he dwells on them lovingly.

Although there is a great deal of corruption among these tribes, after all, the number of nubile girls and of newly-married women who retain their innocence, is much greater than those in the . . . and the fervor of her who married the *Sieur Ako* has nothing of the savage in it, so thoroughly is she imbued with the spirit of God. She tells me the thoughts and the elevated sentiments that she has regarding God, with such ingenuousness that I cannot sufficiently thank God for revealing Himself so intimately to a young savage in the midst of an infidel and corrupt nation. She answered her father and mother, when they brought her to me in company with the Frenchman whom they wished to have for a son-in-law, that she did not wish to marry; that she had already given all her heart to God, and did not wish to share it. Such were her very words, which had never yet been heard in this barbarism. Consequently her language was received with displeasure; and—as I frankly stated that such sentiments were not those of a savage and that God alone could have inspired her with them—her father and mother and still more the Frenchman who wished to marry her, were convinced that it was I who made her speak thus. I told them that God did not command her not to marry, but also that she should not be forced to do so; that she alone was mistress to do either the one or the other, fearing only to offend God. She made no answer either to me or to all the entreaties of her father and mother who went away quite chagrined, and thinking only of venting their anger against me,—imagining that it was I who prevented their daughter from giving her consent.

Father Gravier had to bear the brunt of the storm let loose by this wilderness romance. For a while it put his life in jeopardy, as the chiefs retaliated by forbidding the tribesmen to go to the chapel for divine services, under severe penalties. A few, nevertheless, ventured to go.

Hardly had I begun to chant the *VENI CREATOR* when a man about 45 years of age entered the chapel, with a club in his hand, saying in a threatening tone: 'Have you not heard the chiefs' prohibition? Obey and go out quickly.' He seized one by the arm, to make her go out; but she remained firm. I went straight to him and said: 'Go out thyself and respect the house of God.' 'The chiefs forbid them to pray,' he replied. 'And God commands them to do so,' I said. 'Be silent and go out.' I did not expect that he would give me time to say to him all I did. I afterwards returned to the altar-step where I continued the prayer. He took another by the arm to make her go out. 'You do not obey,' he said. 'Take care not to offend the master whom we serve here,' I called out to him; 'withdraw and leave us to pray to God. And you who honor the Lord of heaven and earth fear not; He is with you and He guards you.' He remained

some time longer without saying a word; and seeing that he gained nothing he withdrew with another old man who had followed him. I praised all present for having caused the devil's emissaries to lose courage.

Thinking that this public insult should not go unpunished, Father Gravier invoked the help of the secular power, and went to the commandant of the fort to lodge a complaint. But he gloated over the missionary's discomfiture. After several further parleys all obstacles were removed. The chief retracted all the calumnies he had spread about the missionary and humbly begged to be forgiven "his drunkenness, that is, his obstinacy." The ceremony that united the Frenchman and the Indian chief's daughter took place before a large concourse of savages and was celebrated with all possible solemnity. It was an all-around happy event. For the first conquest this Indian maiden made for God,

was her own husband, who was famous in the Illinois country for all his debaucheries. He is now quite changed, and he has admitted to me that he no longer recognizes himself, and can attribute his conversion solely to his wife's prayers and exhortations, and to the example that she gives him. 'And how can I resist,' he has often told me, 'all that she says to me? I am ashamed that a savage child, who has but recently been instructed, should know more than I who have been born and brought up in Christianity, and that she should speak to me of the love of God with a gentleness and tenderness capable of making the most insensible weep. And my experience convinces me that she tells the truth when she says that there is no joy except for those who are good. I have such a horror of my past life that I hope, with the assistance of God's grace, that no one will ever be able to make me abandon the resolution I have taken to lead a good life in the future.' The Indian chief and his wife could not long resist the example of their daughter and to the greater joy of the struggling missionary they also were baptized.

The joy of Father Gravier might well have been complete if it had not been for the hot-headedness and fickleness of his savage charges. Thus far he has largely related his own story. The tragic sequel is found in a letter of Father Mermet to the Jesuits of Canada, dated: "Among the Kaskaskia, this 2d. of March 1706." He tells the story thus:

A French soldier having been killed, the governor in Montreal sent orders that a deputation of Indians, headed by a chief, should come to him to make explanation or apologies. Mantouchensa or Bear's Head was selected and with some Illinois and a Frenchman set out for the distant city. Arrived at Michilimackinac the Indians found the French in abject fear of the surrounding tribes, who threatened 'to eat the first one who would break the peace.' The chief refused to go any further. Instead he resolved to return to his own country, and kill and pillage the black-gown and the French that he might make himself at once redoubtable and rich with their spoils. He sent his comrades away from

Michilimackinac with orders to keep in sight the said Father Gravier and the French who were among the Peoria. He himself followed closely upon his countrymen and no sooner had he reached the village than he related the news, and urged the whole village to sedition. He proclaimed loudly that they should have nothing in common with a spy like the black-robe; that by killing the French they should be well rid of them; that the Indians would thus make themselves feared just as their neighbors had done. All these disclosures excited their minds to revolt, and although not all were of that opinion, a great many followed it. Among those was a hot-headed man who, under the pretext that he had been offered a slight by the said Father, who would not bury one of his relatives in the church, would revenge himself therefor. This he did shortly afterward. For when he met the father in the village he ran to his cabin for his bow and arrows and without saying a word, shot the father, wounding him dangerously. Two arrows struck his breast but glanced off; a third tore his ear, the next would have killed him if it had not been for the collar of his cassock which stopped the arrow-head; the fifth pierced the arm at the wrist and penetrated below the elbow. Three streams of blood poured from the opened veins and from the severed artery. The father plucked out the arrow, but the stone head stuck in the sinews near the joint of the elbow. Not a single Illinois tried to stop the furious man. At the first shot the father asked the savage: 'My son, why do you kill me? What have I done to you?' He knelt to commend himself to God, and at the same time, as soon as the wound was inflicted, the father swam as it were in his own blood. A good Samaritan, a Renard (of the Fox tribe) by nation and a stranger in the village, had compassion on the father. He pressed tightly upon the upper part of the arm, and the artery from which the blood had spurted freely, allowed only a few drops to escape. Then some Christian women ran to the father, and assisted by the Renard who still retained his strong pressure on the father's arm, they brought poor Father Gravier home. An Illinois offered to dress the wound, and the father consented. But we saw from what happened afterwards that the intentions of this physician were no better than those of his brethren. He closed the wound as soon as he could, and as a Frenchman who was there, said truly, he shut up the wolf in the sheepfold, by closing up in the wound the clotted blood that was in it. At first the father felt some relief from pain. But afterwards he paid very dearly for his credulity in having accepted this physician's ministrations. Fever was added to his sufferings, and during the three months he remained there he was in terrible agony.

With no relief in sight, Father Gravier decided upon escaping from his hostile surroundings to join Father Mermet. But the news leaked out. During the night his house was stealthily surrounded by two hundred savages intent on killing him. In the nick of time a friendly chief interposed, and prevented the murder. He escaped in a canoe, and joined Father Mermet, who, on seeing his pitiable condition, greatly feared for his life. He did his best with the poor facilities at his command, going to the extent of performing an improvised operation.

The poor father could hardly say Mass once or twice. He had to be dressed like a child. But afterwards his arm swelled more than ever and he could not use

it. He uttered cries night and day like a man who is being burned; in fact he felt pains similar to those caused by a scorching fire. His condition excited compassion in me for I could do nothing to relieve him. At last I proposed somewhat rashly to lance the swelled arm, and he consented. 'But,' he said, 'you will have to cut very deep with the lancet to reach the stone arrow-head.' 'I am not sufficiently skillful to flatter myself that I can find it, even if you were to point out the place where the pain is most severe; but I hope to give you relief by allowing the pus to flow.' He consents. He exhorts me to perform the operation, and I set to work. I thrust the lancet three times into the arm, fortunately without injuring him or opening the principal vein, although the lancet was buried to one half its depth. After this a great quantity of blood having a very putrid odor, escaped, and this gave him some relief. But the stone did not appear, and we despaired of curing him. How could an inexperienced man as I was, seek the stone among the sinews?

Father Gravier was at last persuaded to go to Mobile to seek relief.

'I greatly fear,' adds Father Mermet, 'that he will die of his wound, or be crippled by it for the remainder of his life. After one day's journey he hesitated as to whether he should not return to see me, instead of continuing his journey; for the pain had greatly diminished. He continued it nevertheless with the view of returning as soon as he is cured, in order to die on his first battlefield.'

He did not return however. Father Gabriel Marest, writing to Father Germon from Kaskaskia on November 9, 1712, notes:

Previously I was in the large village of the Peorias, where Father Gravier, who had returned there for the second time, received a wound which caused his death.

And he goes on to describe various aspects of their life whose unconscious heroism is only heightened by the artless display of ordinary human feelings and fears.

The knowledge that we have of the fickleness of the savages, gave us great uneasiness about the condition of the mission of the Peorias. Our distance from their village, which is the largest one in these quarters, prevented our making frequent visits to it. Besides the bad treatment that the late Father Gravier had received from them, obliged Messieurs the Governors of Canada and Mobile, to forbid the French from trading with them. Finally at the time when we were considering means for re-establishing the mission, we learned from some Frenchmen who had secretly traded with them, that these savages were much humbled by the neglect in which they had been left; that in many encounters they had been beaten by their enemies for want of powder which was no longer furnished them by the French; that they seemed deeply impressed by the unworthy manner in which they had treated Father Gravier, and that they earnestly wished for a missionary. This news made Father Mermet, Father de Ville and myself decide that we must avail ourselves of the favorable disposition in which the Peoria were, for putting the mission again on its old footing. Providence accorded us a very natural way. It was necessary that one of us should make a journey to Michilimackinac in order to confer with Father Joseph Marest, my brother, about the

affairs of our mission of which he is superior. In making this journey we could not avoid passing through the village of the Peorias. And we hoped that the presence of a missionary might induce them to renew the solicitations which they had already made, and also the signs of repentance which they had given.

As I was thoroughly acquainted with these savages, Father Mermet and Father de Ville entrusted me with the undertaking. Accordingly I set out on Friday of Easter week, 1711. I had only one day to prepare myself for so long a journey, because I was hurried by the Peorias who wished to return home, and by whom I was glad to be accompanied. I left carrying with me only my crucifix and my breviary, and being accompanied only by three savages. Two of these savages were not Christians, and the third was only a catechumen.

I acknowledge to you, my Reverend Father, that I was somewhat uncomfortable when I saw myself at the mercy of these three savages upon whom I could scarcely depend. I pictured to myself on the one hand the fickleness of these people, whom the merest fancy might perhaps lead to abandon me, or whom the fear of hostile bands might put to flight at the least alarm. On the other hand, the horror of our great forests, those vast uninhabited regions in which I would certainly perish if I were abandoned, presented themselves to my mind and took away nearly all my courage. But at last reassuring myself with the testimony of my own conscience, which inwardly told me that I was seeking only God and His glory, I resigned myself entirely to Providence.

Cowardice was unknown to these men of boundless faith. Yet the stoutest heart might well recoil at the hazardous trip.

The journeys that you make in this country ought not to be compared with those that you make in Europe. You find from time to time homes and villages, houses to receive you, bridges or boats for crossing the rivers, beaten paths which conduct you to your destination, and people who put you on the right way if you are going astray. Here there is nothing of the kind. We have traveled for twelve days without meeting a single soul. Sometimes we have been on prairies stretching farther than the eye could reach, intersected by brooks or rivers without any path to guide us. Sometimes it has been necessary for us to open a passage through dense forests, amid thickets filled with briars and thorns. At other times we have had to go through marshes abounding in mire in which we sometimes sank waist deep. After having been much fatigued during the day, we are obliged to sleep at night on the grass or on some leaves, exposed to the wind, to the rain and to the injurious effects of the air, happy even then if we are near some brook; as otherwise, however thirsty we might be, the night would pass without possibility of quenching our thirst. We kindle a fire, and when some wild beast has been killed on the way, we have pieces of it broiled, and eat them with a few ears of Indian corn if we have any.

Besides those inconveniences common to all those who journey in these deserts, we had that of actual fasting during our whole journey. Not that we did not find abundance of roe, deer and especially of oxen; but our savages could not kill any of them. What they had heard said the night before our departure, to-wit, that the country was infested by hostile bands, had prevented their taking guns for fear of being discovered by the sounds of shots, should they fire; or of being impeded by the guns if it were necessary to take to flight. Accordingly they used

only their arrows, and the oxen they shot escaped with the arrows by which they were pierced, and went away to die far distant from us.

Nevertheless these poor people took good care of me. They bore me on their shoulders when it was necessary to pass over any brook. Whenever there were deep rivers to cross, they collected many pieces of dry wood which they bound together; and making me sit upon this sort of boat, they began to swim and pushed me before them to the other shore. It is not without reason that they feared a party of warriors: they would have had no quarter from them. Either their heads would have been split or else they would have been taken prisoners to be burned afterwards by a slow fire or to be cast into the kettle. Nothing is more frightful than the wars of our savages. Ordinarily their parties consist of only twenty, thirty or forty men; sometimes these parties are only of six or seven men, and these are most to be feared. As their entire skill lies in surprising their enemies, the small number facilitates the pains they take to conceal themselves in order that they may more securely strike the blow which they are planning. For our warriors do not pique themselves on attacking their enemy in front and when he is on his guard; for that they would need to be ten to one. And, moreover, on these occasions each one avoids being the first to advance. Their method is to follow on the trail of their enemy and to kill one of them while he is asleep,—or rather to lie in ambush in the vicinity of the villages and to split the head of the first one who comes forth, and taking off his scalp, to display it as a trophy among his countrymen. This is the way in which they do it. As soon as one of these warriors has killed his enemy, he draws his knife, makes a cut around the head, and tears from it the skin with the hair, which he carries in triumph to his village. For several days this trophy is hung from the top of his cabin, and then all the people of the village come to congratulate him upon his valor and bring presents to show the interest they take in his victory.

The very first day of our departure we found traces of a party of the enemy. I wondered at the very piercing sight of our savages. They showed me on the grass the footprints of these warriors; they distinguished where the latter had been seated, where they had walked and how many they were. But I, however intently I looked, could not discover the slightest trace of them. It was a great good fortune for me that fear did not seize upon them from that moment: they would have left me entirely alone in the midst of the woods. But shortly after I myself, very unintentionally, gave them a severe fright. Swellings that I had on my feet, made me walk very slowly, and the savages had gone on somewhat in advance without my paying any attention to them. Suddenly I perceived that I was alone, and you may imagine what my perplexity was. I began immediately to call, but they made me no answer. I cried louder. But they not doubting that I was struggling with a party of warriors, freed themselves at once from their loads in order to run the more rapidly. I redoubled my cries and their fright increased more and more. The two idolatrous savages were already beginning to flee, but the catechumen, ashamed of abandoning me, drew a trifle nearer that he might find out what was the matter. When he perceived that there was nothing to fear, he made a sign to his comrades. Then addressing me he said in a trembling voice: 'You have frightened us very much. My companions were already fleeing, but as for me I was resolved to die with you rather than abandon you. This incident taught me to follow my traveling companions very closely; and on their part they were more attentive not to separate themselves from me.

Meanwhile the pain that I had in my feet was becoming more severe. I walked only upon sores. This touched the savages who accompanied me to such an extent that they resolved upon carrying me in turn. They tendered me this service for two days in succession. Having reached the Illinois River, and being only 25 leagues from the Peorias, I urged one of the savages to go ahead and inform the Frenchmen of my arrival, and of the unfortunate state in which I was. The third day about noon I saw several Frenchmen coming, who brought me a canoe and some fresh provisions. They put me into their canoe, and as I had no other ailment, the rest and the good care they gave me very soon restored me. Nevertheless I was more than ten days without being able to stand upon my feet. On the other hand I was much consoled by the visits of the Peorias. All the chiefs of the village came to greet me, expressing to me their joy at seeing me again, entreating me to forget their past faults, and to come and dwell with them. I responded to these marks of friendship by reciprocal marks of affection, and I promised them to fix my dwelling amongst them as soon as I had finished the business that was calling me to Michilimackinac. After I had remained a fortnight in the village of the Peorias, I thought of continuing my journey, as I had partially recovered through the care that was given me.

He reached his destination, stayed two months with Father Char-don, who was in charge, returned by the St. Joseph River, and portaged to the Illinois.

At last we perceived our own welcome country: the wild oxen, the herds of deer were roving along the banks of the river, and from the canoe we shot some which served for our repast.

Many of the savages from the village of the Peorias came some leagues to meet me, in order to escort me and to defend me from the parties of warriors who range the forests. When I drew near the village they sent one of their number thither to give notice of my arrival. The greater part of the men ascended to the fort which is placed upon a rock upon the bank of the river. When I entered the village they fired a volley from their muskets in sign of rejoicing. Joy was actually painted on their faces, and they vied with each other in displaying it in my presence. I was invited, with the Frenchmen and with the Illinois chiefs, to a feast which the most distinguished men of the Peorias gave us. It was then that one of the principal chiefs, speaking in the name of the tribe, expressed to me the keen grief that they felt for the unworthy manner in which they had treated Father Gravier. And he besought me to forget it, to have pity upon them and their children, and to open for them the door of heaven which they had shut against themselves.

For my part I returned thanks to God from the bottom of my heart on seeing the fulfilment of what I had desired with the greatest ardor. I answered them in a few words that I was touched by their repentance; that I always looked upon them as my children; and that after having visited my own children, I would come and fix my dwelling among them, that I might help them by my instructions to reenter the way of salvation from which they had perhaps strayed. At these words a great cry of joy arose, and each one eagerly expressed to me his gratitude. During the two days that I spent in this village, I said Mass in public, and performed all the duties of a missionary.

It was the happy ending of a deplorable and typically Indian fray. Upon his arrival at Kaskaskia Father Marcest found it impossible to return to the Peorias as he had promised. Father de Ville was sent there in his place.

This father who had been a short time with us, has now proved by his zeal, by his ability to win the savages and by the improvement that he is making among them, that God appointed him to this mission, not having judged me worthy of it.

Henceforward the "Jesuit Relations" are silent, and other documents are lacking concerning the Peoria tribe. Their camp on the river edge remained a trading post for Indians and whites, but lost its importance because of the more rapid development that was taking place farther south in the "American Bottom." This strip of land, extending from opposite the mouth of the Missouri for about a hundred miles to the point where the Kaskaskia River formerly emptied into the Mississippi, became the home of several French settlements and regularly organized parishes. They passed under British rule in 1765, and were won, together with the whole Illinois territory, for the American Union by General Clarke assisted by Father Pierre Gibault, on July 4, 1778. Clarke immediately sent three soldiers, accompanied by two Frenchmen in a canoe to Peoria to notify the people they were no longer under British rule but citizens of the United States. Among them was Nicholas Smith, of Bourbon County, Kentucky, whose son, Joseph Smith, was among the first American settlers in Peoria.

Nicholas Smith relates that at the time of his visit there was a large town built along the beach of the lake with narrow unpaved streets and houses constructed of wood. There was also a church with a large wooden cross raised above the roof, and with gilt lettering over the door. The inhabitants consisted of French, half-breeds and Indians, not one of whom could understand or speak English.

Although isolated from the civilized world and surrounded by savages, their standard of morality was high. Theft, robbery or murder were seldom heard of. They were a gay, happy people, living in harmony with the Indians who were their neighbors and friends. They adopted in part their customs, and in trade with them accumulated what wealth they possessed.

How often and by whom the church with the large wooden cross raised above the roof was attended, we have no means of ascertaining. But it is well to know that as the Indians dwindled, the French kept the faith alive.

Of the five great subdivisions of the Illinois Indians: Kaskaskias, Cahokias, Tamaroas, Mitchigamis, Peorias, the latter held out longest

against the influence of Christianity. A proud and headstrong nation, they clung desperately to the old heathen customs. But like all other tribes, once they came in contact with the white man's vices, their decline was rapid. The military strength of the Indian villages that clustered around Fort St. Louis in 1684, was estimated at 3680 men, the Illinois furnishing more than one-third of this number. As one-fourth of the Indians were counted as warriors, there must have been a population of approximately 15,000.

In an enumeration of Indian tribes made in 1736, half a century later, the number of warriors that could be mustered by the Illinois Indians is set down as follows: Mitchigamis, 250; Kaskaskias, 100; Peorias, 50; Cahokias and Tamaroas, 200, or 600 warriors, and about 2500 Indians in all.

General William Henry Harrison, appointed Governor of Indiana in 1800, reported that the once powerful Illinois were reduced to 60 souls, and the Peorias do not appear in the count at all. By 1833 all Indian tribes had ceded their Illinois lands to the United States Government. In 160 years from the appearance of the white man in Illinois, the land had passed from the exclusive ownership of the aborigenes into the permanent possession of another race. The remnant of the tribes, hardly 300 souls in all, removed to a Kansas reservation, on the Osage River. In 1868 they were settled in Oklahoma, where they still reside, and are officially designated as Peoria and confederated tribes. There are barely 200 souls, all mixed bloods and divided between Catholics and Methodists.

(REV.) J. B. CULEMANS.

Moline, Illinois.

THE ILLINOIS PART OF THE DIOCESE OF VINCENNES

(Continued from April, 1922)

REV. FRANCIS JOSEPH FISCHER*

Father Fischer was presumably born in France. At least he came to this country from France accompanied by Father Dupontavice and others in October, 1839.

After his ordination by Bishop Hilandiere on September 19, 1840, he for a while assisted at Vincennes and surrounding missions. Late in 1840 he joined Father St. Palais in Chicago, and looked after the German Catholics of the city. He remained there until about the end of May, 1844,—not long after Bishop Quarter's arrival—when both he and Father St. Palais were recalled. Bishop Quarter recorded in his diary that Father Palais left for Vincennes on August 23d and Father Fischer left on August 28, 1844.

Father Fischer was kept reasonably busy while in Chicago with his parochial duties. The church register of St. Mary's contains many entries in his clear hand, and while the chirography is plain and more or less artistic, such claims cannot be advanced for the orthography. Father Fischer, like the other priests not trained in English, was frequently led astray by phonetics.

A very large number of Chicagoans were christened by Father Fischer, and in the long list are to be found many ancestors of prominent families still residing in Chicago. The baptismal records include the following:

* I am indebted to Rev. C. J. Schwarz of St. Croix, Indiana, for practically all the information I have been able to obtain concerning Rev. Francis Joseph Fischer and Rev. Michael Edgar Evelyn Shawe; indeed, I have very largely used Father Schwarz' own words in the construction of this paper. Father Schwarz is one of those studious, energetic priests who, no longer able to perform the rigorous duties of pastor, is spending his declining years in retirement and doing all that his uncertain health will permit to rescue from oblivion historic personages and places of especial interest to Catholics. The ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW has been fortunate indeed in enlisting the interest of Father Schwarz and several other men of his inclinations, and it is desired to extend an invitation to all readers to co-operate with us after the manner of Father Schwarz.

BAPTISMS BY REV. FRANCIS JOSEPH FISCHER IN ST. MARY'S CHURCH, CHICAGO

<i>Date</i>	<i>Person Baptized</i>		
1841		10-31	Marie Anne Huren
2- 5	Peter Smith	11- 7	Marie Down
2-10	Catherine Schue	11-11	John Sauter
2-10	Marie Bows	11-11	Alexander Joseph Claus
2-10	Sara James Bows	11-22	James Meyer
2-23	John Ahearn	11-23	Michael Lennon
2-23	Marie Beirizera	12- 6	James Henry McMahon
2-23	Johanna Hau	12-11	John Armstrong
2-23	Marie McGuire	12-11	Elizabeth Conley
2-24	Susanna Hau	12-12	Elizabeth Stein
2-25	Elizabeth Reichard	12-15	Leonora Jackson
2-25	Frederick Reichard	12-26	Elizabeth Scheindler
2-28	Anne Marie Cury		
3- 1	Catherine Müller	1842	
3- 6	Marie McBride	1- 2	Cherena Metzger
3-14	Nicolas Schnur	1- 5	James O'Reilly
3-19	Amelia Bayer	1- 6	Rose Anne Harbard
3-21	Bernard Casimir Wellsman	1-16	Catherine Berg
3-23	John Connell	1-16	Catherine Frances
3-25	Marie William	1-20	Michael Lee
3-30	Paul Corboy	1-21	Ernestine Julie Dietrich
4- 5	Anne Talz	1-23	Marianna McKibb
4-19	Helen Neis	1-27	John Hickey
5- 2	Magdalen Sexton	1-31	Napoleon Whisler
5-10	William Farrell	2-11	Christoph Eivers
5-23	Magdalena Tehoenaker	2-14	Daniel Norton
6- 6	Louise Healy	2-14	James Hayes
6- 7	Marguerite McErlean	2-20	Thomas Musham
6-21	Catherine Meunster	2-20	Mary Zoleen
6-22	Marguerite Bohner	2-24	Frantz Joseph Vogt
6-27	Johannes Schar	2-24	James Considine
7-17	James Keogh	2-26	Marie Merkel
7-17	Elizabeth Stanner	3- 1	Marguerite Heinz
8-19	Catherine Deis	3- 5	Michael Corrigan
8-23	Josephine Spohr	3-17	Leo Meyer
8-23	Frances Joseph Müller	3-17	Victor Meyer
8-27	John Gerry	3-17	August Meyer
8-29	Marguerite Thomson	3-20	Nicolaus Neis
9- 5	Marie Keogh	3-28	Frantz Bolles
9-18	Marie Anne Daenzler	4- 1	Emelia Heinz
9-22	Ferdinand Kapplian	4- 1	Franciska Periolet
10- 2	Francis Joseph Ott	4- 6	James Carroll
10- 3	Marguerite Welsh	4-10	Sophie Carson
10-10	Marie Theresa Franken	4-20	Johanne, wife of George Brown
10-13	John Gehan	4-20	Isabelle Brown
10- 5	Peter Delvot	4-20	William Brown
10-18	John Frederick Overhard	4-26	Phillip Hays

<i>Date</i>	<i>Person Baptized</i>		
10-18	Michael Dwyer	10-30	Marie Olles
5-11	Victoire Wolf	10-31	Anne Lane
5-15	Anna Maria Baer	11- 1	Michael Stephen
5-31	Joseph Glaser	11- 1	Marie Donlan
5-31	Elizabeth Gourd	11- 2	Helen Gauer
5-31	Catherine Hag	11- 2	John B. Bush
5-31	Catherine Schmall	11- 2	Peter Periolat
6- 1	Marguerite Schelly	11- 6	Francis McIntyre
6- 1	James Schmidt	11-26	Thomas Edward McKay
6- 4	Christine Kautenbauer	11-28	George
6-19	Marie Müller	12- 4	Magdalene Miller
6-22	Marie Hoff	12- 4	Joseph Lauer
7- 2	Angella Gabel	12- 8	John Hogan
7- 2	Marie Anne Dawson	12- 8	Michael Hogan
7-18	Hugh Jung	12-11	Peter Steinbach
7-21	William James Summer		
7-22	Gottlieb Schuermann	1843	
7-22	Louis Cordell	1- 1	Rose Bailly Howe
7-31	Marie Diversy	1- 1	James Burk
7-31	James Welsh	1- 8	James Sexton
8- 7	Thomas O'Connell	1- 8	Marie Elizabeth Ward
8- 8	James Gallagher	1- 8	Elizabeth Schoenmaker
8-13	Owen Weckler	1- 9	James Clifford
8-21	James Hughes	1- 9	William McDonnel
8-21	Magdalene Short	1-15	Peter Haupt
8-21	John Holland	1-22	Nicolas Beffel
8-23	Andrew McGraw	1-25	Marie Hahn
9- 1	Julie Kinzie	2- 2	Frantz Mathis
9- 4	Marie Galloway	2-12	Susanna Gaughan
9- 5	Eleni Roach	2-15	Georges Beir
9- 5	Eleni Sullivan	2-15	Margaret Beir
9-10	Clare Kelly	2-16	Luna Dawsant
9-14	John Galaher	2-19	Frederick Cure
9-18	Marie Farris	2-21	Owen Carroll
9-18	Mathias Petri	2-21	Marie Jane Bardely
9-22	Marie Anne Kelly	3- 1	Joseph Antony
9-22	Elisabeth Rooney	3-19	Elene Keefe
9-25	Catherine Raskat	3-22	Eulogius Sauter
9-28	Francis Andrew Schollar	3-22	Virginia Claus
10-12	Catherine Baus	3-29	Peter Münster
10-13	John Clodi	3-29	John Peter Wendel Schuler
10-14	Margaret Lauermann	3-29	Angela Ahern
10-15	Helene Bonnet	3-29	Mathias Joseph Spahn
10-16	Catherine Neidorf	3-29	John Bohlrig
10-16	Joseph Mathias Meunier	3-31	Marie Collins
10-16	Salomi Claus	3-31	James Elmore Hilt
10-16	Mathias Periolat	3-31	Gerry Francis Hill
10-25	Frederick Dour	4- 2	Magdalene Claus
10-29	John Wilson	4- 2	Bedelia Keogh

<i>Date</i>	<i>Person Baptized</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Person Baptized</i>
4- 4	Jonathan Jackson	11-24	John Ryan
4-20	James Francis Fleming	11-31	Anne Marie John
4-26	Michael Brohmburger	12- 3	Peter Migules
5- 1	Christoph Louis Philipp Claus	12- 7	Suzanna Kastler
5- 1	Andrew Philipp James Claus	12-10	Thomas Fitzpatrick
5- 3	Margareth Catherine Dungan	12-10	Anna Catherine Loer
5-28	Catherine Higgins	12-10	John Bonsbana
6- 4	Eulogius Joseph Sauter	12-11	John Nibus
6- 4	Joseph Schendler	12-16	Heleni Dalton
7- 6	Nicolas Hein	12-17	Edward Timony
7-10	John Olsen	12-31	Magdalena Reis
7-23	Edward O'Neil	12-31	Catherine Woekel
7-24	Edward Murphy		
7-25	Louis Woodville	1844	
7-28	Apollonia Capporn	1- 7	Barbara Schnur
7-30	Theresie Frank	1- 7	John William Owen Hilderbrand
8- 2	Frederic Hagerman	1-21	Joseph Spohr
8-13	Catherine Overhard	1-26	Josephine Ducharm
8-14	Marie Crowley	1-28	Catherine Magdaline Vogt
8-16	Michael Nell	1-30	Heleni Lenberger
8-17	Theodore Kreuser	1-31	Barbara Diversey
8-20	John Caspar	1-31	John Kartenburger
8-22	Eliz Jane Campbell	2- 8	Josephine Hahn
8-31	Nicolas Hess	2-14	Catherine Periloar
9- 2	Gertrude Hartman	2-18	Richard Kennedy
9- 4	Péter Joseph Schor	2-18	John Harvard
9-10	Charles Armstrong	2-18	John Kelly
9-14	Francisca Jane Hobbs	2-18	Mathias Mann
9-17	Elisabeth Fettermann	2-23	Catherine Rogers
9-19	Hubert Fhaspach	2-25	Charles James Sauter
10-14	Nicolas Malter	3-17	Bernard Joseph Blaes
10-22	Elizabeth Brehler	3-17	Anne Marie Kastler
10-23	Marie Elisabeth Hanler	3-20	Cristine Dietrick
10-25	John Barry	3-24	Marie Emilie Baumgarten
10-29	Anna Philipp	3-24	John Owen Berg
10-29	Marie Schaeffer	3-24	Christoph Reich
11-19	Michael Hickey	3-31	Owen Harvey
11-22	Honora Summers	4-14	Hubert Haupt
11-24	Antoni Schmidt	4-14	Anne Marie Burger

MARRIAGES BY REVEREND FRANCIS JOSEPH FISCHER
AT ST. MARY'S CHURCH, CHICAGO

<i>DATE</i>	<i>PARTIES</i>	<i>DATE</i>	<i>PARTIES</i>
4-22-1841	John Cowen Mary Blake	5- 2-1841	Jacob McManimon Elizabeth Armstrong
4-22-1841	Martin Diamond Mary O'Connor	5-14-1841	Arthur Carney Susan McGuire

DATE	PARTIES	DATE	PARTIES
6- 1-1841	Joseph Seezer Marie Engler	2-27-1843	Jacob Sauter Marie Smith
6-11-1841	George Batr Marguerite Zeir	2-28-1843	Joseph Waltz Marie Wagner
6-28-1841	Henri Heinz Beyer	2-28-1843	John Levy Marie Ann Zeir
6-28-1841	Martin Beyer Margaret Heinz	4-28-1843	Nicholas Kastler Eleni Kniffer
7- 3-1841	John Wechel Barbara Berg	5- 7-1843	John Freund Catherine Waggoner
7-18-1841	Michael Elizabeth Stanner	5- 7-1843	Peter Mass Catherine Kiefer
8-19-1841	Francis Hemmeyer Marireth Schiel	5-17-1843	Peter Ludwig Catherine Schmal
8-22-1841	Philip Rogers Mary Masterson	5-26-1843	Francis Geib Margaret Hagener
12-28-1841	Martin Jane Mulligan	5-30-1843	Joseph Dawson Eleni Shea
1- 8-1842	Christoph Hagerman Lina Sohena	6- 2-1843	John Schanal Rasger
2- 7-1842	Lorentz Bier Gertrude Lauer	7- 1-1843	Peter Stennerty Judy Beaubien
2- 7-1842	Frederick Ludwig Dietrick	7-20-1843	Henry Henriette Weber
3-29-1842	Joseph Seager Margaret	7-20-1843	Leonard Angeline Schulz
4-12-1842	Francis Margaret Meyer	8- 1-1843	Edward Farrell Ellen Murphy
5-24-1842	Mathias Müller Margaret Hait	9-10-1843	John Madden Mary Sullivan
6-21-1842	Gotlieb Barner Theresa Bartholome	9-22 1843	Mathias Schmidt Margaret Kuppandal
7-18-1842	Patrick O'Brien Margaret Donohue	9-17-1843	John Cooney Ann Murray
7-19-1842	Louis Criset Mary Chadonette	9-17-1843	Michael Brady Mary Connor
8- 9-1842	Peter Frey Elizabeth Kalling	9-18-1843	Michael Klanheus Catherine Estet
11-17-1842	Shristian Kuhn Catherine Gouer	10-29-1843	John Waggoner Barbara Lauer mann
12-26-1842	Charles Baumgarten Mary Ann Frett	12-22-1843	Michael Coffman Mary
12-27-1842	Sebastian Steven Angelina Ott	1-11-1844	Killian Ott Catherine Waegler
1-14-1843	Henry Berg Maria Kuhn	1-11-1844	Joseph Pfaffenholz Margaret
1-26-1843	Mathias Kastler Elizabeth Young	1-16-1844	Philip Blake Eleanor

DATE	PARTIES	DATE	PARTIES
1-30-1844	John Sullivan	2-20-1844	John Bronock
	Margaret Long		Bridget Hennebery
2-10-1844	John Bollig	2-22-1844	Mathias Franzen
	Marie Schillo		Susana Schillo
2-19-1844	James Sloan	4- 8-1844	Henry Codman
	Ann McGahan		Susaua Pahn
2-20-1844	John Ignatius Weber	4- 8-1844	Peter Petermann
	Francisco Periolat		Catherine Hipp
2-20-1844	Patrick	4- 9-1844	Gregorious Chester
	Elizabeth Nees		Francisco Papst

FATHER FISCHER'S SUBSEQUENT CAREER

Soon after leaving Chicago, Father Fischer was stationed at St. John, Lake County, Indiana, in charge of St. John the Evangelist parish. The Catholics there had a little frame church which proved too small for their rapidly increasing membership, and Father Fischer in 1846 erected for them a large log church and had the small frame building converted into a school.¹ This likely was the second parochial school in northern Indiana, the first one being at Fort Wayne, in 1845.² From September, 1846, to March, 1848, he had charge of the church at Logansport.³ Thereafter he became pastor at Ferdinand, Dubois County, Indiana, with missions attached at Fulda and Troy.⁴ On August 2nd of the same year (1848) we find him an assistant at St. Michael's Church in Madison, Indiana,⁵ administering to the German portion of that congregation. Father Fischer, it seems, in the fall of 1848 left the diocese to serve another bishop elsewhere.

It is disappointing that the entire career of such a zealous priest as Father Fischer cannot be traced. Father Schwartz has made considerable effort to discover his subsequent career. The last place where he was found was Madison, Indiana, and in the year 1848. Father Schwartz says:

"Here I lose track of his subsequent career. I find no evidence showing him suspended, or that he joined a religious order, or to have returned to France, which I think was his native country. His name is not on the memorial or necrology list of deceased clergy of the diocese of Vincennes (now called the diocese of Indianapolis), nor is his name among the 35 priests who in January,

¹ Alerding, *History of the Catholic Church in Indiana*, p. 420.

² *Ib.*, p. 194.

³ *Ib.*, p. 358.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 312, etc.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 356.

1849, were laboring throughout Indiana, which list is given in Alerding's History of the Diocese, p. 201,—so no doubt he left Indiana in the latter part of 1848."

To help in the search for data concerning Father Fischer, Father Schwartz makes the following suggestions:

Catholic Directories beginning with 1849. If you find a Rev. Francis Joseph Fischer—good—you know where he was then—take the next year and continue on until you come to a year which does not show him in active service anywhere—and then in that same year's directory look for the Memorial or Necrology list, and as a rule the date and place of his birth and death will be found. Of course it could happen that his name is missing in some years and again be found later on.

Father Fischer spoke German—no matter what his nationality might be—but his name has the German form, the *c* between *s* and *h*.

There are three books in German called Schematismus—a sort of Catholic Directory—mentioning only those priests in the United States who spoke German in their churches even though they were Irish or French, etc. These three books give the date and place of birth, their ordination, also their churches and missions, statistics, etc., but only for the year when the books were published. The three books may be found in large Catholic libraries.

No. 1. By Reverend Reiter, S. J.,—*Schmatismus*—was published 1869—look up the Index. If Father Fischer then was living in the United States, he ought to be found in that volume.

No. 2. Reverend John B. Müller (or Mueller) *Schematisms*—published 1872—

No. 3. Reverend John Nep. Enzlberger—1892. I have No. 3 and know he is not given in that one—although others named Fischer are found.

REVEREND MICHAEL EDGAR EVELYN SHAWE

The life of Father Shawe partakes of romance. He was of the English nobility, and while an officer of the British cavalry at Waterloo was severely wounded and as he gave no sign of life he was reported among the dead.

When his mother, thus informed, came to claim his remains she found him in a camp hospital barely alive. As soon as he could be removed she had him brought to the south of France, and there for three long years nursed him back to health. By that time however, she had sacrificed her own health in his behalf, and became a helpless invalid.

The son now nursed his mother most tenderly through a long siege of sickness which, however, terminated in her death. Sadly he took her remains to Devonshire, England, where they were gently laid to rest.

Meanwhile he was a convert, having become a Catholic during his long illness. He retired from military service, then lived a few years in Vienna and joined the Teutonic Knights of Germany, an

old Catholic order of Hospitallers whose membership comprised only those of noble lineage.

For him life here was too exclusive, and he resolved to become a missionary priest among the lowly. He entered the College at Oscott, England, to study for the priesthood, and in time drifted to the Seminary of St. Sulpice in Paris. There he was a subdeacon when Bishop Bruté (1835) met and won him over for the missions in Indiana.⁶

Father Shawe came to this country with Bishop Bruté on his return to Vincennes, in August, 1836. In December following he received the order of deacon and was ordained priest March 12, 1837, at age 44.⁷

He and Bishop Bruté were most intimate friends and the death of the latter 1839, grieved him sorely.

Bishop Hilandiere also appreciated the worth of Father Shawe, who was an eloquent speaker, proficient in English, French and German, had learning and varied experience, was pious yet sociable and whose manner commanded respect.

Early in 1840, Father Shawe and others were with the Bishop in Chicago to try to remedy the evil of schism existing there, but their mission proved unsuccessful for the time being.⁸

Father O'Meara and adherents were yet too much excited and hurt by what was termed "a harsh and unwarranted removal which reflected on his character." At length, June 27th, he yielded and the conflict that lasted six months came to an end.

Shortly after ordination (1837) Father Shawe was sent as first resident pastor to Madison, Indiana, a little town on the Ohio River, having a small number of Irish and German Catholics. Previous to that those people had seen a priest only a few times. Without delay Father Shawe organized the Catholics under the patronage of St. Michael and for two and one half years held divine service in private homes or some public hall. His congregation consisted of the very poor, was scattered over four counties of rough hilly country, with most primitive and miserable roads, and one may imagine the hardships and privations the priest had to undergo.⁹

⁶ ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. II, pp. 344, 345.

Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, Vol. IV., p. 579.

⁷ Bishop Bruté's list of ordinations gives Father Shawe as the first one ordained by him, and seems to prove that Father St. Palais, ordained in France, 1836, had not been ordained by Bishop Bruté as some assert.

⁸ Alerding, *History of the Diocese of Vincennes*, p. 171.

⁹ Alerding, p. 351.

All the Madison missions were attended by Father Shawe alone, excepting a few months when he had an assistant.

The construction of the first railroad in Indiana starting in 1838 brought a great influx of poor Catholic laborers, some of whom remained permanently, and the need of a church became more and more urgent despite the general poverty.

For two years the pastor struggled amid great difficulties with erecting St. Michael's Church, a stone edifice, dedicated December 22, 1839. He himself contributed most of the funds. The congregation still worships in the same church.

To the great joy of Father Shawe Catholicity spread in Madison and the church affairs were steadily improving under his guidance.

When recalled 1840 he became assistant at the Vincennes Cathedral, taught classes in the seminary, helped out in churches of the surrounding country, generally accompanied the Bishop through the wilderness on Confirmation tours, at times had to conduct missions in the parish at Chicago and elsewhere, etc. With all his work for four years he was happy and contented.

In 1844, however, he became discouraged. Diocesan affairs were being conducted in a way that caused dissatisfaction everywhere even at headquarters.¹⁰

About June, Father Shawe resigned, quit the diocese and in September following became Professor of Rhetoric in the University of Notre Dame.¹¹

But something was not congenial. He had some French associates who formerly served under the defeated Napoleon while, he, an Englishman, served under Wellington the conqueror; and their respective sentiments in things national and military were often at variance. To shield his sensitive nature as much as possible from the thought of what happened to him at Waterloo and what in turn robbed him of his mother he withdrew from the scene and returned to pastoral work, where his mind would be more diverted.

In 1845, we find him at Detroit, Michigan, in charge of Holy Trinity, a large Irish congregation, whose church was rather small,

¹⁰ Aldering, p. 177. The new Chicago diocese had just begun operating and held Chicago and other territory where there was daily progress. Thus the most promising portion of the Vincennes diocese was withdrawn and what remained of Indiana was in a lagging condition. The outlook was gloomy. Hoping to stimulate matters the Ordinary with excessive energy directed all affairs in such minute detail that priests feared to do anything on their own initiative. Hence the general dissatisfaction referred to.

¹¹ *History of the Catholic Church in Indiana*, p. 546.

and three years later Bishop Lefevere installed him as pastor of the large Cathedral which had just been dedicated and into which Holy Trinity had been merged.

Father Shawe formed guilds to associate the Catholics together and also to aid in the pastoral work. Catholics were soon attracted by his pleasing personality and devotion to duty, and in due course he gained the esteem of all classes in Detroit, where he spent the last eight years of his varied life.

Early in 1853, the beloved Father Shawe was called to his eternal reward. "On the 30th of April, he set out in a carriage with two acolytes to open a new church at Connor's Creek, but the horses took fright; he was thrown out and seriously injured. He was removed to the hospital of the Sisters of Charity, where he expired at the age of sixty, May 10th, 1853."¹²

Thus closed the career of Father Shawe, the descendant of a noble family, and for sixteen years an humble priest in God's service.

This distinguished scholar, soldier, convert and priest visited Chicago, perhaps frequently, but there is little evidence to indicate that he was ever assigned to the Chicago mission.

Something is added by this article to the literature of the O'Meara-Palais controversy. Father Schwartz says that "Father Shawe and others were with the Bishop in Chicago to try to remedy the evil of schism existing there," referring to the disagreement between Father O'Meara and Father Palais in 1840, quoting Alerding's History of the diocese of Vincennes as authority.

The church register shows that he was here on at least two other occasions. On May 21, 1841, he recorded the baptism of James Dalton and Honorah Barry, and a month later, June 21, he recorded the baptism of William Fagan. In each of those cases he signs himself as Missionary General, and must be credited with the most artistic and legible penmanship in the entire register.

Everything known about Father Shawe tends to prove that he was an unusually brilliant and scholarly man, and a very devout priest.

JOSEPH J. THOMPSON.

Chicago.

¹² Shea, Vol. IV, p. 581.

COLONEL JOHN MONTGOMERY

AN "IRISHMAN FULL OF FIGHT," COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE
VIRGINIA TROOPS IN THE COUNTY OF ILLINOIS

The winter of 1779 and '80 was the most severe in many years in the Illinois, and the spring of 1780 was indeed a gloomy one to the small American army quartered in the three French villages of Kaskaskia, Prairie du Rocher and Cahokia. Colonel George Rogers Clark had departed with most of his troops to a place called the Iron Mines, near the mouth of the Ohio River, where he was engaged in erecting Fort Jefferson. The commandant of the Illinois was Lieutenant Colonel John Montgomery, an Irishman born in 1748 in Bottetourt County, Virginia, who in the year 1771 was one of the celebrated "Long Hunters" in Kentucky; from there he joined Colonel Christian's regiment and took part in the Point Pleasant campaign in Dunmore's war. When Colonel George Rogers Clark was enroute to capture The Illinois settlements in 1778 at "Corn Island" he received what his biographers say was "an important accession to his little army, of twenty volunteers from Kentucky under Captain Montgomery,"¹ who was described as "an Irishman full of fight" who engaged in the enterprise with great ardor. Clark in the fall of 1778 was promoted to a full Coloneley and Captain John Montgomery was made Lieutenant Colonel and given the title "Commander-in-chief of the Virginia Troops in the county of Illinois."²

A letter written by Colonel Montgomery to Clark in September, 1779, shows the condition the American army was in. He says: "I can't tell what to do in Regard of clothing for the Soldiers as the Goods you wrote to me is gone—and I would Be Glad that if it is in your power to Send me a Relefe to me for the Soldiers if it is onley As Much as will make them A little Jump Jacote and a pear of overalls I think they Mite Scuffle threw."³ The time of service of most of the troops had expired. Desertions were almost a daily occurrence and the American army was rapidly diminishing in numbers.

Early in the Spring of '80, Clark, who had now been made a general, decided to concentrate his troops at Fort Jefferson.⁴ The

¹ Monette's *Mississippi Valley*, Vol. 11, p. 101.

² Butterfield, *Conquest of the Illinois*, p. 270.

³ Draper, *Mss.*, 49 J. 74.

⁴ Virginia State Papers, 1-358.

soldiers at Vincennes were called and Colonel Montgomery was given orders to retire most of his troops from the Illinois villages, Governor Patrick Henry having written General Clark that it would be necessary to withdraw as many of the troops as possible from the territory north of the Ohio; for he, "need expect no help or supplies from the State."⁵ Before Montgomery could carry out his orders, news was received that an army of British and Indians was on its way to attack the Illinois settlements. Instead of retreating with his few soldiers and thus virtually obeying the orders from his commander this "Irishman full of fight," did not desert the weak French settlements, but at once set about fortifying Cahokia, the most northern settlement where he was stationed. Montgomery also consulted the Spanish Commandant at Peneour (St. Louis) and together they sent a joint message to General Clark at Fort Jefferson, notifying him of the threatened British and Indian invasion. Clark at once set out for Cahokia and arrived the night before the British and Indians made their attack on St. Louis.

In 1779, Spain had declared war against England and it was supposed that British officers planned this attack on the Spanish posts on the Mississippi in retaliation, but it seems that the British designs were not merely to attack the Spanish posts. A letter written by Patt Sinclair, lieutenant Governor of Michilimacinae, to General Haldimand sometime between February 17th, 1789, and the last of May that year, shows that this movement was but a part of a general plan of attack. Captain Charles de Langlade, with a chosen band of Indians and a party assembled at Chicago, was to make an attack by the Illinois River. Another party was sent to watch the plains between the Wabash and the Mississippi, and the expedition against Peneour (St. Louis) and Cahokia was under a Mr. Hesse, a British trader (formerly of the 60th regiment), who with seven hundred and fifty men, including traders, servants and Indians, the latter had assembled at La Prairie du Chien, came down the Mississippi and made "an attack on the Spanish and Illinois." Still another body of British were to attack the Spanish settlements at the mouth of, and along the lower Mississippi.⁶ The Indians in Captain Hesse's party were Menominees, Sioux, Winnebagoes and Sacas and Foxes, most of the latter joining the party at the mouth of the Rock River near their village.

⁵ Draper, Mss., 29 J. 14.

⁶ Canadian Archives, Series B., Vol. 97., Pt. 2, p. 349.

On May 26th the British and Indians attacked St. Louis. They killed a number of the inhabitants, but failed to capture the place. A part of the army, mostly Indians, on the next day crossed the Mississippi and attacked the post at Cahokia, but were equally unsuccessful. The British and Indians then commenced a retreat north, one part going by way of the Mississippi, the other by way of the Illinois River.

General Clark, after this engagement, at once returned to Fort Jefferson to guard against an expected attack on that place, but before leaving, ordered Colonel Montgomery to pursue the enemy, distress them, and attack and destroy their towns. Montgomery was ordered to follow the enemy up the Illinois to lake (Peoria) and then cross the country and attack the town of the Sacs and Foxes on Rock River near its mouth.

The attack by the American army on the Rock River town of the Sacs and Foxes is the only event in the Revolutionary war that brought the American army so far north, and the Sac village being the objective point, it is well worth the time to know what the "Ancient" village of the Sacs and Foxes was.

THE SAC AND FOX ROCK RIVER VILLAGE

To the historian that part of our State now Rock Island County offers a fruitful field. Here, about 1722 or some ten years later, the allied tribes of the Sac and Fox Indians settled, and along the north bank of the Rock River, near its confluence with the Mississippi, built a village, which they continuously inhabited until driven beyond the Mississippi by United States soldiers in 1831,—a habitation of one hundred and nine years, a longer period than the occupancy of any other village of the Nomadic Redman of North America. Much has been written concerning this village; some writers have described it as "being in the shape of a right angle," and said that the houses "were built, as a general rule, facing or fronting upon the public squares, or other streets." Others have said the village was laid out in "lots and blocks," much like our modern cities; but from all that I am able to learn, the Sac wigwams or houses were built facing the river and extended from the high bluff (now called Watch Tower) down within a mile where the Rock River empties into the Mississippi. From about the year 1800 the Rock River village was inhabited almost solely by the Sacs and such of the Foxes as were under the leadership of the War Chief Black Hawk, and were generally known as the "British Band." The Foxes maintained a village on the Mississippi

River where the city of Davenport, Iowa, is now located, and opposite the lower end of the Island, known as Rock Island.⁷

That the Sacs and Foxes loved their villages and surroundings is no wonder. A noted writer who had traveled much in this country, on coming up the Mississippi River and landing at Fort Armstrong on Rock Island, some eighty years ago, wrote, "Setting down a pair of compasses large enough to extend thirty-five miles around the lower end of Rock Island and taking a sweep around it, you would have within the circle, the handsomest and most delightful spot of the same size, on the whole globe, so far as nature can produce anything called beautiful."⁸

The Sac wigwams were "very much the shape of a New England barn, sixteen or eighteen feet wide, and from twenty to fifty or sixty feet long. The largest were calculated for from two to four families. They were built by setting posts in the ground, and siding with bark from elm trees. This bark, cut about seven feet long, varied in width from two to four feet, according to the size of the tree taken from. They had rafters, and on these were laid poles, upon the poles was placed bark, making a roof that turned rain very well. These wigwams for fall and winter use were very different, being of flags woven into matting, which could be rolled up, and enough to cover a wigwam carried on one horse. They made a frame of small poles, one end sharpened and stuck in the ground, the other bent over so as to form a circle of ten or twelve feet, then they placed the matting around and over the poles, leaving a small opening in the top for the smoke."⁹ The Sacs inhabited the Rock River village only in the summer and fall while cultivating their crop of corn, beans and squashes. This description is by an early pioneer who lived among these people some three years before they were driven across the Mississippi.

A traveler in Wisconsin in October, 1766,¹⁰ speaks of one of the Sac towns as being composed of about ninety houses, built of hewn plank neatly joined and covered with bark, and that the streets were regular and spacious.

Refusal of the Sacs to give up their ancient home on Rock River, their corn fields, their fishing and hunting grounds, and the burial grounds of their ancestors, resulted in the Black Hawk war, and their forced removal toward the setting sun.

⁷ Morse's *Report of Indian Affairs*, p. 124.

⁸ *Tour to Prairie du Chien*, Caleb Atwater, p. 64.

⁹ *Reminiscences of Pioneer Life*, J. W. Spencer, p. 12.

¹⁰ *Carver's Travels* (1779, p. 42.)

THE ATTACK ON THE SAC VILLAGE

In no history of the early Upper Mississippi or of Illinois is there any mention of the attack upon and the destruction of the Sac village on Rock River during the Revolution. My attention was first called to this event some years ago, while reading Pike's account of an Expedition to the Sources of the Mississippi, in the year 1805. In speaking of this town of the Sac nation, Lieutenant Pike said; "which (I was informed by a Mr. James Aird) was burnt in the year 1781, or 2, by about 300 Americans, although the Indians had assembled 700 warriors to give them battle."¹¹

James Aird, mentioned by Pike, was a British trader whose headquarters were at Prairie du Chien, at which place he had located in 1778, and he with other British and French traders came semi-annually to trade with the Sac and Fox nations. An island in the Mississippi River about a mile long above where the Rock River empties into the Mississippi was the trading ground. It was near both the Sac and Fox villages. Here the traders gave the Sacs and Foxes credit for goods, and as early as 1780, this island was known as Credit Island, a name it kept until within a few years.

Had it not been that complaints concerning Colonel John Montgomery were made to General Clark, the former would probably never have made any mention of his march from Cahokia at the head of an American army in June, 1780, and his attack on the Sac village at the mouth of Rock River. But fortunately for posterity, the jealousy existing among the officials in the early Illinois, was the cause of this complaint, which forced Colonel John Montgomery to write a letter in his own defense, in which he mentions his part of the attack on the Sac village at the mouth of Rock River; and I am pleased to say that in an examination of his record, although some writers have accused him of dishonesty, I am fully convinced that this "Irishman full of fight" was not only an honest man, but one of the most loyal subjects of the then new American Government. In a letter dated February 22nd, 1783, to the Honorable the Board of Commissioners for the Settlement of Western Accounts, Colonel Montgomery, after reviewing his official conduct, says:

"In the spring of 1780, we were threatened with an Invasion. Genl. Clark being informed of it Hurreyed his departure with a small body of Troops to the Falls of the mouth of the Ohio, when he receiving other expresses from the Spanish Comm'dts and myself, luckily joined me at Cohos, time enough to save the country from Impending

¹¹ Pike, *Sources of the Mississippi*, Appendix to Part 1, p. 43

ruin, as the Enemy appeared in great force within twenty-four hours after his arrival. Finding that they were likely to be disappointed in their Design, they retired after doing some mischief on the Span'h shore, which would have prevented, if unfortunately the high wind had not prevented the signals being heard. In a few days a number of prisoners and Disarters left the Enemy Confirming a report that a body of near thousand English and Indian Troops ware on their march to the Kentucky Country with a train of artillery, and the Genl. knowing the Situation of that Country appeared to be alarmed and resolved to attempt to Get there previous to their arrival. At the same time he Thought it necessary that the Enimy was retreating up the Illinois River, should be pursued so as to atact their Towns about the time the might have been disbanded, distress them, convince them that we would retaliate and perhaps prevent their joining the British Emisarys again. Previous to my knowledge of the above Resolution I had informed Genl. Clark of my Desire of Leave of absence for sometime, in order to return to my family. It was then he informed me of his resolution; and that the Publick Interest would not permit of my request being Granted, that I must take command of the Expedition to Rock River, while he would attempt to interrupt the army marching to Kentucky, and if they got them before him Except the weakened the country too much he would raise an army and attempt to play them the same Game in the Miami Country, as he hoped I would go towards Miskelemacknor, and if we should be Tolerable successful and the business properly arranged, I might absent myself for four or five months in the fall or winter. After Given me Instructions he left Kohos the forth of June with a small Escort for the mouth of the Ohio on his rout to Kentucky. I immediately proceeded to the Business I was order'd and march'd three hundred and fifty men to the Lake open on the Illinois River, and from thence to the Rock River, Destroying the Towns and crops proposed, the Enemy not Daring to fight me as the had so lately Been disbanded and they could not raise a sufficient force. After returning, takeing every method in my power to regulate business, I was resolved to return home, but after Deliberating sometime, was convinced that the Risque by land was great without a Guard, which our circumstances would not admit off, and that I could posably as soon or sooner return by Water than land. What might also induce me in a great measure to Take my rout by Orleans, was the probability of Reecovering some deserters from the Spanish Governor, and put a stop to that pernicious practice, which I in a great measure effected as that Gentlemen appeared willing to comply with any proposition in his power to promote our interest.¹²

Colonel Montgomery gives no detailed account of the march from Cahokia or of the Rock River engagement. He merely refers to it as showing how his time was employed while in the Illinois, and it pos-

¹² Calendar Virginia State Papers, Vol. 111, p. 441.

sibly was but a minor matter to this "fighting Irishman." Aird, who undoubtedly received his information by being at Credit Island, near by, or else from the Indians soon thereafter, says the Sacs had some 700 warriors to defend their town. It is possible they made but a feeble resistance. If so it is the only instance that history records of the Sacs running from an enemy. Black Hawk in his autobiography does not mention this event, but that is natural, an Indian tells only of his victories.

In this expedition the Spaniards from St. Louis sent two companies each of fifty men and the French of the Illinois also furnished two. The latter it seems expected to capture rich booty from the Indians and it seems were grievously disappointed. In a lengthy letter to one M. Mottin de la Balme, pensioner of the King of France, French Colonel, etc., who was then in the Illinois, the Cahokians made a complaint. They say:

"Oh, Colonel Clark, affecting always to desire our public welfare and under pretext of avenging us, soon formed with us and conjointly with the Spaniards a party of more than three hundred men to go and attack in their own village the savages who had come to our homes to harass us, and after substituting Colonel Montgomery to command in his place, he soon left us.

"It is then well to explain to you, sir, that the Virginians, who never employed any principle of economy, have been the cause by their lack of management and bad conduct, of the non-success of the expedition and that our glorious projects have failed through their fault: for the savages abandoned their nearest villages, where we have been, and we were forced to stop and not push on further, since we had almost no more provisions, powder, and balls, which the Virginians had undertaken to furnish us."¹³

I have found only one other mention of this northern Invasion, and that is an account made to Dr. Lyman Draper by Captain John Rogers, who was one of Clark's captains and commanded a Company in the Rock River expedition, who said:

"April, 1780, proceeded to Falls of Ohio, from Fort Pitt, 670 miles; find orders to continue on to the Iron Banks of Mississippi, 530 miles. Here I explore the country on both sides of the Ohio, by orders of Gen. Clark to find an eligible place to build a fort thereon. The General now received an express informing him of an intended invasion of the Village of Kahokias. I am ordered with my company for its protection, where I arrive, 200 miles; soon after besieged by a large force, on their raising the siege, join our forces to those of the Spaniards of St. Louis, who had suffered much by said army; and follow the enemy to their towns upon the river de la Rouze (Roche?)

¹³ Draper, Mss., 51 J. 75.

distant 400 miles out and 400 in. We burn the towns of Saux and Reynards.”¹⁴

It is more likely the Sacs made little or no resistance, yet it was at a time of the year when the fighting men were at home. It was the time when this nation always engaged in cultivating their fields of corn, beans and squashes, comprising some eight hundred acres.

The Sacs thus were the only ones punished for the attack on St. Louis and Cahokia. Yet their conduct in this expedition was severely condemned by the British. Lieutenant Governor Sinelair, in making his report on the failure of the St. Louis-Cahokia expedition, said:

“The two first mentioned Indian Nations (Winnebagoes and Sioux) would have stormed the Spanish lines, if the Sacs and Outagamies (Foxes) under their treacherous leader Monsr Calve, had not fallen back so early, as to give them but too well grounded suspicion that they were between two fires.”¹⁵

No mention is made how Montgomery’s army returned, but it is safe to presume they went as they came, by land. If the Indians deserted their village, they undoubtedly departed in their canoes down to the Mississippi, and thence across that stream.

Perhaps somewhere there is more in detail an account of this northern invasion, which, when found, will undoubtedly prove interesting.

WM. A. MESE,

before Illinois State Historical Society.

Rock Island.

¹⁴ Draper, Mss., 28 J. 3.

¹⁵ Canadian Archives, Series B., Vol. 97, Pt. 2, p. 389.

CLAUDE JEAN ALLOUEZ—JESUIT PIONEER MISSIONARY

The name of Father Allouez is not so well known as is that of Father Marquette, with whom he was for a time associated on the Indian Missions; but as a pioneer, explorer and intrepid missionary his career is almost as remarkable. In his extensive travels he visited the country around the head of the Great Lakes, where they empty into one another at Sault Sainte Marie and at Mackinaw; he explored Lake Superior and penetrated the wilderness to the north of it where lies Lake Nipigon; his missions took him into the heart of Wisconsin and around Green Bay and he built a log chapel not far from the present University of Notre Dame in Indiana. Surely it may be said of Father Allouez, as St. Paul said of himself; "In journeying often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils from my own nation, in perils from the Gentiles, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness." The Indians, who more than once were about to abandon him in the depth of the Canadian wilderness while on his way to the west, were his "Gentiles"; the enmity of LaSalle, a man of large vision but of narrow prejudices, brought him "perils from my own nation."

The most notable occasion of his life was perhaps the address, partly religious and partly political, which he delivered at an assembly of all the tribes dwelling within one hundred leagues of Sault Ste. Marie in June, 1671. "The purpose of this assemblage," writes Mr. John A. Lemmer, "was to foster the spread of Christianity as well as to cause the sovereignty of the French monarch to be recognized by even the most remote tribes. . . . Representatives of fourteen nations were present, some deputies coming from Monsonis at the head of Hudson Bay. When all were assembled a huge cross was raised, and the French escutcheon was fixed to a cedar pole erected above the cross. Allouez, who understood the Indian method of harangue . . . was the orator of the day and astonished the Indians with the power and greatness of the French monarch as he pictured it for them.¹

New France in the seventeenth century was a vast wilderness, traversed only by Indians and by a few daring French traders in furs—*coureurs de bois* as they were called—or by the equally hardy

¹ *Michigan History Magazine*, Vol. 2, p. 781-794, Oct. 1918.

agents of the great French monopoly, the Hundred Associates in Quebec, who bartered "fire-water" for furs. The main settlements were scattered along the St. Lawrence at Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal. Raids by the fierce Iroquois rendered impossible exploitation of the natural resources of the country or cultivation of its rich bottom lands, save close by the stockades erected to shield the settlers from the prowling savages.

Trade was confined to barter with the Indians, who would come down the Ottawa or the Saguenay Rivers once in a year or in two years, their canoes laden with furs gathered on hunting expeditions. The Indians would travel in large bands for better protection from enemies. After disposing of their peltry they would return to their villages in the distant North or West in much lightened canoes; and this furnished the opportunity to missionaries to traverse the wilderness on those long journeys which would otherwise have been impossible. The main highways of travel or trade routes were the water courses, as far removed as possible from the hunting grounds of the hostile Iroquois. As these warlike tribes controlled the country around Lake Ontario and Lake Erie, a route to the West much farther north was followed.

A glance at a map of Canada shows that the part of the country lying between the latitude of the Saguenay River on the north, where it empties into the St. Lawrence, and Montreal on the south, is a strip in which lies the northern portion of Lake Huron with its eastern extension Georgian Bay, Lake Michigan, the Sault Sainte Marie and Lake Superior. This was the region in which Father Allouez labored. The way thither lay in a direction almost directly west from the French settlements on the St. Lawrence. From Montreal the voyager passed up the Ottawa for many leagues until the portage² to Lake Nipissing was reached, thence across the height of

² The reader desirous of following intelligently the early travels of the missionaries from the eastern settlements in Canada to the Mississippi will do well to familiarize himself with the five portages, a list of which given by Winsor (*Narr. and Crit. Hist. of America*, Vol. 4, p. 224 note), is here reproduced.

1. By Green Bay, Lake Winnebago and the Fox River to the Wisconsin River, thence to the Mississippi—route of Joliet.

2. By the Chicago and Desplaines Rivers to the Illinois River, thence to the Mississippi. This was the south-west portage on Lake Michigan.

3. By the St. Joseph River to the Kankakee, south to the Illinois and the Mississippi—route of La Salle. This was the south-east portage on Lake Michigan.

4. By the St. Joseph River to the Wabash, to the Ohio River and by that to the Mississippi. This of course took the voyager much further south.

land to that lake and down the French River to Georgian Bay. The way to the Indian villages on Lake Superior led thence through the Sault Sainte Marie; the route to the Indians living in Wisconsin led through the Strait of Mackinaw and from there around the northern shore of Lake Michigan to Green Bay. Such was the great country, largely unexplored by the white man, to which Father Allouez came in 1658.

Claude Jean Allouez was born at Saint Didier, Haute Loire, in France. The name, as it appears in the *Jesuit Relations*, has a dieresis over the "u", which would seem to imply that it was pronounced "Alloway", the accent for those not able to preserve the delicate balance of the French stress falling on the last syllable. The date of his birth is given in most of the encyclopedias as 1620; but the date 1613 is used by Winsor and Margry, and is supported by the testimony of Father Dablon, a close associate of Father Allouez, that he died "in the seventy-sixth year of his age" during the night of the "27th to 28th of August, 1689."³ His early education was obtained at the College of Puy en Velay, where he studied under the direction of Saint Francis Regis. He entered the novitiate of the Jesuits at Toulouse in 1643 or according to Sommervogel, on September 25, 1639. His brother was also a Jesuit. In 1658 he was sent to the mission field in Canada, where for the next six years he seems to have been assigned to parochial duty in Three Rivers. By Bishop Francis de Laval he was appointed Vicar-General in the West on July 21, 1633. Learning in the next year that a band of Ottawa, had come to Montreal to trade from their far-away villages on the south shore of Lake Superior, he attempted to join them, but arrived at Montreal too late. The next year, when the same tribe visited the French settlements, he was successful in joining them. The account of his journey is contained in his *Journal*, which is included in "Relation of what occurred most remarkable in the Missions of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus in New France for the years 1666 and 1667," printed in Paris at the famous Cramoisy Press, which Dr. Shea adopted for the name of his series of reprints of the "*Jesuit Relations*." This report was written by François Le Mercier, S. J., and was addressed to his Superior, the Father Provincial of the Province of New France, Jacques Bordier. A copy of the original "Rela-

5. By the Miami River, entering from the western end of Lake Erie, to the Wabash, thence to the Ohio and Mississippi. Father Allouez gives evidence of knowing of this southern portage as early as 1680.

³ P. Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements des Français*, Vol. 1, p. 63. Paris, 1875.

tion" in French may be seen at the Newberry Library in Chicago, which has a complete set lacking two of all the original "Jesuit Relations." These originals are very scarce indeed; copies are scattered through a few of the largest libraries of the country, but only the Lenox Library in New York possesses a complete set.

"On the eighth of August, in the year 1665," he writes,⁵ "I embarked at Three Rivers with six Frenchmen,, in company with more than four hundred savages of various nations, who after transacting the little trading for which they had come, were returning to their own country." Right at the start he had difficulty with the Indian in whose canoe he endeavored to secure passage. "No sooner had I embarked than he put a paddle in my hand, urging me to use it, and assuring me it was an honorable employment and one worthy of a great Captain. I willingly took the paddle and, offering up to God this labor in atonement for my sins, and to hasten those poor savages' conversion, I imagined myself a malefactor sentenced to the galleys; and although I became entirely exhausted, yet God gave me sufficient strength to paddle all day and often a good part of the night." The food which this Frenchman and his companions were obliged to eat was far enough removed from French cooking. "We were forced to accustom ourselves to eat a certain moss growing upon the rocks," he writes. "It is a sort of shell-shaped leaf which is always covered with caterpillars and spiders, and which on being boiled furnishes an insipid soup, black and viscous, that rather serves to ward off death than to impart life."

The flotilla of canoes proceeded up the Ottawa River as far as the portage, to which allusion has been made above, thence crossed to Lake Nipissing. "After passing the Nipissirien Lake," he continues, "as we were descending a little river, we heard cries of lamentation and death songs. Approaching the spot whence came these outcries, we saw eight young savages of the Outaouacs (Ottawa) frightfully burned by a direful accident, a spark having by inadvertence fallen into a keg of powder. Four among them were completely scorched

⁴C. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Vol. 1, p. 183. The date 1690, given by Sommervogel for his death, is certainly wrong, as will be pointed out later; so that this error throws some doubt upon the other dates. He has adopted 1620 as the date of birth of Father Allouez. Father Dablon, mentioned above in the text, says that his associate died "in the forty-seventh year of his entry into religion," which would make that year 1643.

⁵We shall quote from the English translation, printed on the pages opposite the French, as reprinted in R. G. Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, ed. with translation and notes. Vol. 50-51. Cleveland, 1899.

and in danger of dying. I comforted them and prepared them for baptism." On the second of September the party passed the Sault Sainte Marie, which he says "is not a waterfall but merely a very swift current impeded by numerous rocks," and entered Lake Superior, "which will henceforth bear Monsieur de Tracy's name in recognition or indebtedness to him on the part of the people of those regions. One often finds at the bottom of the water pieces of pure copper, of ten or twenty livres' weight. I have several times seen such pieces in the savages' hands; and since they are superstitious, they keep them as so many divinities, or as presents which the gods dwelling beneath the water have given them and on which their welfare is to depend. . . . For some time there had been seen a sort of great rock, all of copper, the point of which projected from the water; this gave passers-by the opportunity to go and cut off pieces from it. When, however, I passed that spot, nothing more was seen of it; and I think that the storms—which here are very frequent and like those at sea—have covered the rock with sand." Thus Father Allouez gave to the world the first news of the "copper rock of Lake Superior," as it came to be known, a mass of ore estimated to weigh 6,000 or 7,000 pounds and of 95 per cent. purity, which is now in the Smithsonian Institution in Washington.⁶ The State of Michigan now ranks sixth among the States of the Union in the production of copper, which comes from the mines of the Lake Superior region. The presence of copper there was known to the Algonkin tribes when the French first settled in Canada.

"Having entered Lake Tracy (Superior), we spent the whole month of September in coasting along its southern shore—where finding myself alone with our Frenchmen, I had the consolation of saying holy Mass, which I had been unable to do so since my departure from Three Rivers." This was not the first Mass said in that region, however, because Father René Ménard on October 15, 1660, reached Keweenaw Bay on the south shore of Lake Superior where, he says, "I had the consolation of saying Mass," the first Mass on Lake Superior.⁷

"On the first day of October we arrived at Chagauamigong . . . It is a beautiful bay at the head of which is situated the great village of the savages, who there cultivate fields of Indian corn and lead a settled life. They number eight hundred men bearing arms, but are gathered together from seven different nations, living in peace,

⁶ R. G. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 50, p. 327, note 28.

⁷ J. G. Shea, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, p. 263. New York, 1886.

mingled one with another." The Indian village of Chagoimegon was located on Chaquamegon Bay—as the word is now spelled—near Bayfield, Wisconsin, some seventy miles east of Duluth. Here Father Allouez established his Mission of the Holy Spirit (La Pointe du Saint Esprit). The spot was the gathering place for all the tribes living immediately south and west of Lake Superior; through intercourse with Indian visitors who came to the Mission, Father Allouez was enabled to pick up a knowledge that aided him in his later missions among the Sioux, Illinois and Miami. A book is mentioned by Dr. Shea as "still preserved in Canada, containing prayers in Illinois and French, which contains an ancient note stating that it was prepared by Father Allouez for the use of Father Marquette."⁸ "God has graciously permitted me," Father Allouez writes of himself, "to be heard by more than ten different nations."

Modern writers are unanimous in their praise of Father Allouez for his careful and accurate descriptions of the manners and customs and the religious beliefs and traditions of the tribes among whom he was stationed. The good Father is shocked at the absence of shame which he observed among some of the tribes and at their licentious dances; but he takes pain to state their characteristics fairly. The religious beliefs of the Indians in his neighborhood are thus described. "The savages of these regions recognize no sovereign master of Heaven or Earth, but believe there are many spirits—some of which are benificent as the Sun, the Moon, the Lake, Rivers and Woods; others malevolent, as the adder, dragon, cold and storms. And in general, whatever seems to them helpful or hurtful they call a Manitou, and pay it the worship and veneration which we render only to the true God. These divinities they invoke whenever they go out hunting, fishing, to war, or on a journey—offering them sacrifices, with ceremonies appropriate only for Sacrificial priests."⁹ The remedies used by the medicine men of the tribes are decidedly heroic: One "consists in grasping the patient under the arms and making him walk barefoot over live embers in the cabin; or if he is so ill that he cannot walk, he is carried by four or five persons, and made to pass slowly over all the fires, a treatment which often enough results in this, that the greater suffering thereby produced cures or induces unconsciousness of the lesser pain which they strive to cure."

Father Allouez made occasional visits to Indian tribes dwelling in the surrounding region. In 1666 he preached to the Sioux, living

⁸ J. G. Shea, *Cath. Church in Col. Days*, p. 273, foot-note.

⁹ J. G. Shea, *Cath. Church in Col. Days*, p. 273-274.

to the west and at that time on friendly terms with the Chippewa of his Mission. But five years later, provoked at insults from the tribes to the east of them, they returned the presents which Father Marquette had sent them and forced the missionaries to abandon the Mission of the Holy Spirit. Father Allouez was the first white man to meet (1667) Illinois Indians, who visited his Mission La Pointe. In the same year, while on his way to Lake Nipigon, lying to the north of Lake Superior, he found neophytes of earlier Jesuits, who had not seen a priest for twenty years, fugitives perhaps of the early Huron missions, which had been broken up by the raids of the Iroquois.

During his two years spent among the Ottawa Indians, Father Allouez had come to see the need of more missionaries and of helpers who should cultivate the fields, hunt, and fish for the sustenance of the missioners. To arrange for such assistance he returned to Quebec in 1667, reaching that town on August 3, but remaining only two days. On the third day he started back, expecting to be accompanied by two of his brethren and by four men; but the Indians refused to carry three of the men. In 1669 he again made the long journey to Quebec, this time to ask that a mission be established at Green Bay. To avoid further lengthy traveling Father Dablon was made Superior of the Western missions. Father Jacques Marquette took up Father Allouez' duties among the Ottawa and the latter was permitted to carry out his plan for a mission among the Indians on Green Bay.

In November, 1669, he "set out in the canoes of the Pottawatomes, accompanied by two other Frenchmen, and amid storms and snow toiled on till they reached Lake Michigan, and skirted its shores till they entered Green Bay on the feast of Saint Francis Xavier. The next day Father Allouez celebrated the first Mass in that part, which was attended by eight Frenchmen."¹⁰ Here he established the Mission of Saint Francis Xavier, in a motley village inhabited by six hundred Indians of the Sauk, Foxes, Potawatomi and Winnebago tribes, who had gathered there to spend the winter. The location was at the rapids of the Fox River not far from De Pere, Wisconsin. He describes the Potawatomi as "a people speaking the Algonquin tongue, but in a dialect much harder to understand than that of the Outaouacs (Ottawa). Their country lies along the Lake of the Ilimouek (Illinois), a large lake which had not before come to our knowledge, adjoining the Lake of the Hurons and that of the

¹⁰ J. G. Shea, *Cath. Church in Col. Days*, p. 275.

Stinkards (Puants) in the southwesterly direction." Thus was announced to the world the existence of Lake Michigan; for it seems probable that he would have heard of it before if anybody had known of it. By the Lake of the Puants he means Green Bay. He was much pleased with the Potawatomi, who were said to be the most docile and well-disposed toward the French of any of the tribes of the region. Their wives and daughters were modest and the members of the tribe "observe among themselves a certain sort of civility and also show it toward strangers."

The next quotation from Father Allouez' *Journal* contains the first mention in the *Jesuit Relations* of the Mississippi: "The Nadouesiouek (Sioux) dwell toward the great river named Messipi." In another passage he refers to "a great river, which as well as I can conjecture, empties into the sea somewhere near Virginia." Father Marquette's voyage down the Mississippi in 1673 first definitely settled the fact that the river emptied into the Gulf of Mexico.

In 1670, Father Allouez ascended the Fox River from its mouth at the lower end of Green Bay to Winnebago Lake where, at a village of the Fox Indians, he and his companions were received as though they were gods. A ceremonial feast was given in his honor, his limbs and those of his companions were anointed, and—as he himself expressed it—"a veritable sacrifice like that which they made to their false gods" was offered to him. Here he founded the Mission of Saint Mark. Returning to Winnebago Lake he followed up the Wolf River to a village of the Mascoutens and from there to the Menominees and the Winnebago, who lived near the mouth of the Menominee River, where he set to work to study their language and to translate into it the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, and a brief Catechism. "Such", says Dr. Shea, "was the first announcement of Christianity in the heart of Wisconsin."¹⁰

The first of the Illinois missions was established among the Kaskaskia Indians by Father Marquette in April, 1675. The location was on the Illinois River, near the present town of Utica, La Salle County, and was named by him the Mission of the Immaculate Conception. Upon his death a month later the work was suspended until assumed by Father Allouez, who arrived in 1677 and conducted the Mission until La Salle appeared on the scene (1679) and installed Recollects. La Salle was an enemy of the Jesuits, who opposed some of his projects of exploiting the Indians. The Recollects stayed

¹⁰ Given in P. Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements des Français*, Vol. 1, p. 59-64.

until 1683, Father Allouez being stationed meanwhile at Green Bay. La Salle had established a fort on the Illinois River named Fort St. Louis, at the now famous Starved Rock. In 1683 a band of Seneca Indians (Iroquois) was sent against this fort, which was left by La Salle under the command of Chevalier Baugy and Henri de Tonti; Father Allouez accompanied the French and Indian force sent to its relief, and the next year resumed his charge of the Mission among the Kaskaskias, abandoned by the Recollects. Here he remained until 1685, when the return of La Salle caused him to retire.

The last missions of Father Allouez were among the Miami and the Potawatomi. In 1670, he had met some of the tribe living among the Mascoutens in a palisaded town where he established the Mission of Saint Jacques, and had learned their language. In 1682, the Iroquois attacked the Miami, who took advantage of the building by La Salle of a temporary fort near South Bend, Indiana, to move thither, where they settled in a village, and were followed by some Potawatomi. Here on the St. Joseph River the aged missionary spent the remaining years of his life and here, near the present city of Niles, Michigan, he died August 27, 1689.

The authority for the date of his death is a letter¹¹ written by his former companion on the missions and Superior, Father Claude Dablon, dated Quebec, August 29, 1690,—“a whole year later than the event,” he writes. The coincidence that Father Dablon’s letter is dated on the 29th of the same month in which the missionary died, but one year later, seems to have led some early writers to record his death as having occurred in 1690, and later writers to perpetuate the error.

WILLIAM STETSON MERRILL.

Chicago.

THE CHURCH OF NAPERVILLE

SEVENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY

Prior to the year 1844 Naperville might well have been called one of the outposts of Christianity. Catholics who lived in the village or in the surrounding district enjoyed, up to that time, only the irregular ministrations of missionary priests, who were sent out from time to time from the dioceses of Vincennes and St. Louis. Coming as they did, on long mission journeys to minister to the needs of a widely scattered flock, these priests could not possibly do more than make brief, fitful and occasional calls, sufficient indeed to keep the sturdy plant of faith alive in the hearts of those whom they visited, but hardly calculated to give it rich growth and enable it to bring forth its choicest and most abundant fruits.¹

In 1844, however, conditions began to ameliorate. In that year, with the appointment of the Rt. Rev. William Quarter, D. D., as its first bishop, the diocese of Chicago was established and within its territory was included Naperville, which soon thereafter was to rejoice in the regular ministrations of an attendant priest. In the very first year of his episcopate,² Bishop Quarter ordained the Rev. John J. Ingoldsby to the priesthood and sent him, after a vacation of four days, as pastor to Joliet³ with instructions to visit Naperville once a month. Until a more suitable place could be provided Father Ingoldsby, on his monthly calls, conducted divine services at first in the home of Joseph Wehrle, a log cabin a half mile south of the present site of Naperville, and later in a tavern which stood on the Ory farm at the crossing of the Chicago-Naperville and Lisle-Joliet roads. But the zeal of the good people of Naperville, once it had been thoroughly aroused, would not permit them to long continue even these much improved arrangements. The blessings which they had enjoyed in the old homeland before emigrating to America were still fresh in their memories. There the Almighty had dwelt constantly in their

¹ Tradition preserves the name of a Father Luegner, who made visits to the neighborhood prior to 1840. No account of Father Luegner has been found. Reverend Hippolyte du Pontavice, appointed by the Right Rev. Simon William Gabriel Bruté, Bishop of Vincennes, in 1841, as pastor at Joliet, undoubtedly visited Naperville in that and subsequent years. Rev. John Guequen no doubt visited Naperville in the early forties.

² Father Ingoldsby was ordained by Bishop Quarter August 18, 1844. See McGovern *The Catholic Church in Chicago*, p. 67.

³ *Ib. Id.*

midst; and there, too, His anointed minister had been continually among them, day and night at their beck and call to fill every spiritual want and need that might arise. The loss of these blessings they had felt keenly in their new home; and in their desire to regain them, they soon made shift to erect a permanent house of worship and to secure a resident pastor, both of which worthy undertakings were quickly crowned with success.

In 1846 the Rev. Raphael Reinaldi was sent to become the shepherd of the struggling little flock; and the same year witnessed, too, the completion of the first church, for which the name St. Raphael was chosen, and which stood at the southwest corner of Franklin Avenue and Front Street, on the site of the present school building. There was little of architectural beauty or stylistic grandeur in the simple lines of the humble church; it was only a modest frame structure consisting of the main nave and a shed-like attachment designed to serve both as a sacristy and as a pastoral residence. But with all its simplicity, the statement might nevertheless be here hazarded, that more real heart's affection was lavished upon the construction of this little building than upon many a more pretentious temple. For the erection of even so small a church demanded a really great sacrifice of the few humble families upon whom the burden fell. There were then only twenty-five Catholic families residing in the neighborhood, among them the following: Joseph Wehrle, Peter Schultz, X. Egermann, D. Babst, Andrew Kreyder, X. Dutter, G. Ott, Joseph Jack, Andrew Schall, Francis Vry, Joseph Hinterlong, X. Riedy, Lawrence Kaefer, Anton Kuni, Joseph Pfister, John Clementz, John Jaegli, Joseph Seiler, X. Drendel, X. Winkler, Michael Schwartz, Valentine Dieter, Schrodi and Beaubien.⁴

With the church completed and a resident pastor in charge, the parish of St. Raphael at Naperville, in spite of its small numbers, seemed about to enter upon a period of vigorous and active life. But there were many disappointments in store for the faithful little flock. In those early days there existed a condition which, deplore as one might, could not be easily obviated. Priests were all too scarce; and the good bishop in providing for the welfare of the entire diocese was often compelled to remove the pastor whom he had sent to Naperville; and often, too, he was forced to leave the parish without a priest in order that other points might be attended, where Catholics were more numerous and where, consequently the need was greater. In the first twenty years of its existence St. Raphael's had no fewer than twelve

⁴ *Archdiocese of Chicago*, p. 243.

pastors; and during that same period of time it was without a priest for an aggregate of sixty-eight months. Reduced to an average, therefore, each pastor's term of office during that first score of years was but a trifle more than fourteen months. Three times it was death that robbed the flock of its shepherd; more often it was the call of the bishop voicing the greater need of priestly service which was felt elsewhere. The following list of pastors together with the dates of their appointment and departure will furnish an idea of the many changes and vacancies:

Rev. Raphael Reinaldi, 1846 to July, 1848.

Rev. Charles J. Marogna, July 10, 1848 to August, 1848.

Vacancy of eleven months.

Rev. Nicholas Jung (approximately) 1849 to October 22, 1849.

Vacancy of four months.

Rev. Francis A. Voelker, early (before March 12) in 1850—died September, 1851.

Vacancy of two months.

Rev. Charles Zuker, November 14, 1851 to August, 1853.

Vacancy of four months.

Rev. John T. Kraemer, December, 1853 to September, 1854.

Vacancy of eight months.

Rev. Rudolph Etthofer, May 14, 1855—died October 25, 1855.

Vacancy of six months.

Rev. Eusebius Kaiser, April, 1856 to July, 1857.

Vacancy of thirteen months.

Rev. L. Snyder, August, 1858 to November, 1858.

Vacancy of one month.

Rev. John P. Carolus, December, 1858—met with fatal accident May 27, 1861.

Vacancy of eighteen months.

Rev. Peter Fischer, October 19, 1862 to November, 1864.

Rev. Max Albrecht, November, 1864 to summer of 1866.

Vacancy of one month.⁵

It was, of course, to be expected that the parish should suffer greatly under these frequent changes. Some of the pastors had hardly sufficient time to become acquainted with their parishioners; and though others may have found crying needs still their brief tenure of office did not permit them to plan, to inaugurate and to execute the various measures that conditions required. Even greater harm resulted from the many vacancies. The striking of the shepherd and the

⁵ Taken from parish records, all of which have been preserved.

scattering of the flock are represented in the scripture as one and the same thing. And justly so. If there is no leader it is only natural for the sheep to stray; and if there is none to mete out spiritual food, the fervor of religious life must necessarily wane and grow cold. In the above described circumstances, then, it is scarcely to be wondered at, if those who erected the little church of St. Raphael should have become discouraged at times, and should have lost some of their eager interest. Priests of neighboring parishes, in the absence of a pastor at Naperville, did what lay in their power to relieve the trying situation by offering their own services as often as they could disengage themselves from the discharge of their duties at home. Thus did Father John J. Ingoldsby of Cass in 1848, Father Anthony Kopp of Chicago in 1849-50-53-54 and -55, Father John P. Carolus of Johnsbury in 1854-55 and -56, Father L. Carteyveis of Aurora and Father Joseph Ranek of Joliet in 1857 and 58, Father Sullivan of Aurora, Father Julius Kuenzer, C.S.S.R. and Father Joseph Mueller, C.S.S.R. of St. Michael's, Chicago, in 1861 and 62. But their calls were necessarily irregular and, in spite of their good will, they could not possibly supply the deficiency of a resident pastor. This series of unfortunate experiences it was that delayed for a number of years the rapid progress which the parish had promised to make from the very beginning.

The meager records of the first few years present very little to arrest our attention. One incident of 1848, however, deserves to be chronicled. After the departure of Father Reinaldi, the congregation soon found itself in the gravest financial difficulties. Debts were overdue, the funds were exhausted, creditors were clamoring for payment and the church was about to fall under the hammer, when Joseph Wehrle came forward with an act of unselfishness which is too rare to pass unnoticed and unmentioned. Single handed he came to the rescue by personally assuming the entire indebtedness.

Nothing further of interest transpired until the year 1849, during the administration of Father Nicholas Jung, when on July 13, Right Reverend Bishop James Oliver Van de Velde came to St. Raphael's to conduct the first official visitation. His diary states that he found affairs, both spiritual and temporal, in a most satisfactory condition, that he gave communion to twenty-three children, and confirmed fifty.*

* This was a gala season for St. Raphael's. The Bishop spent the better part of four days in Naperville. His diary reads as follows:

(July 1849). "13th. Left for Naperville with Rev. Mr. Kopp.

14th. Examined spiritual and temporal affairs of Naperville congregation; found everything in a most satisfactory condition.

their zeal for the practice of their religion to grow cold. The condition of affairs gradually developed into a very bad state. The congregation itself could not long remain unaware of its unfortunate situation; more and more it came to realize the need of a change. It longed for a change in time, and looked hopefully forward to it. And thus by degrees everything shaped itself in such a manner that the stage was set for a thorough reform. It required only a leader to point out the way. And he, too, was not long wanting.

The providential man was the Rev. John P. Carolus, who was appointed pastor in December, 1858. Father Carolus possessed many advantages over his predecessors. He was a native of Alsace, the country from which most of his parishioners had emigrated. And having been active as a priest there before coming to this country, he probably learned to know some of them in the old homeland. Nor was he unacquainted with the condition of affairs at Naperville. Time and again, as was stated above, he had come to St. Raphael's from his former parish at Johnsburg to minister to the needs of the Catholics at Naperville when their own pastor had been called away. From the very outset, therefore, his flock was well known to him; and from the outset, too, he had a full knowledge of the needs and resources of the parish. Without the loss of any time he was able to set out at once to inaugurate a program of improvement. And this he did with characteristic zeal and energy.

Nor did his efforts remain long unrewarded. The parish quickly responded and gave evidence of ever increasing life and activity. A mission, arranged by the pastor and conducted in 1860 by the gifted and eloquent Father Xavier Wenninger, S. J., reawakened a religious zeal and literally fanned its smouldering fires to a white heat of fervor. The results were both gratifying and enduring. With the rekindling of the ardor of faith there came, too, a keen and eager interest in the needs of the parish.

Nor were the needs insufficient to engage the quickened interest. With the steady growth of the congregation and with the more regular attendance at divine services, resulting from the mission revival, the seating capacity of the church was found to be hopelessly inadequate. The erection of a new and larger house of worship had become an imperative necessity; and preparations were begun without delay. A subscription was taken up at once. And nothing, perhaps, provides a better criterion to estimate the spirit which prevailed at that time, than the success with which this subscription met. Within a week the congregation had pledged itself to contribute the neat sum of twenty-





INTERIOR SS. PETER AND PAUL CHURCH, NAPERVILLE, ILLINOIS

Meanwhile the parish had grown very considerably. In the three years since its foundation the original band of twenty-five families had been augmented, principally by influx from abroad, to such an extent that Bishop Van de Velde, while passing through Naperville, October 22, 1849, could note that the congregation then numbered about six hundred souls, almost all of whom were of German antecedents,⁷ having emigrated to this country, chiefly from Alsace. Perhaps it was due to these increased numbers that the opening of a parochial school was deemed both advisable and also feasible. With the limited resources, of course, nothing pretentious could be attempted at the outset; an humble beginning, however, was made in 1850, during the administration of Father Francis A. Voelker; and from that date to the present writing the Catholics of Naperville have never lacked the advantages of a Catholic school. Another result of the parish's growth was the need of an addition to the church, a need which grew more imperative as the time passed. And yet, the undertaking was a little more than the parish felt able to embark upon at once. The expense which it entailed would hardly be regarded as a staggering one today; but in those early times it was enough to give cause to a congregation consisting for the greater part of newly arrived immigrants, men who had not yet found time and opportunity to court the smile and favor of fortune. Preparations, however, were gradually made; and in the year 1852, under the direction of Father Charles Zuker, then pastor, the work was accomplished. To make room for the new addition the old shed-like attachment, which hitherto had served both as a sacristy and a pastoral residence, was removed to an adjoining lot and converted into a schoolhouse. At the same time, too, the first bells were installed in the church.

These were improvements of which the parish doubtless was proud; but they necessitated the assumption of an indebtedness which was to prove a trying burden for a number of years. The following four pastors (1853 to 1858), coming and going as they did in rapid succession, could not improve the situation. It grew worse, in fact; and the finances became quite depressingly involved. The intervening vacancies, too, permitted the interest of the parishioners to wane and

15th. (Sunday) Said Mass at 8 o'clock at Naperville, and gave first communion to about 23 children. Exhortation for first communion by the pastor, Rev. Mr. Kopp, gave confirmation to 50 persons after vespers, and before and after it delivered an exhortation in German.

16th. Said Mass at Naperville, and returned to Chicago." McGovern *The Catholic Church in Chicago*, p. 109.

⁷ *Ib.*, p. 115.

four thousand dollars. What a misfortune that such a spirit of enterprise should have been arrested by a most untimely disaster.

Father Carolus did not live to complete the work which he had begun. Returning from his mission in Milton May 27, 1861, he met with a fatal accident. His spirited horse, shying at a bridge, pitched him violently from his buggy to the ground, killing him almost instantly. It was a crushing blow to the parish to lose such a pastor at such a time. Their deep mourning gave proof of the profound respect and love which the worthy priest had earned.

Death might claim Father Carolus, but it could not undo the work that he had accomplished. The zeal and fervor which he had instilled into the hearts of his people lived after him and continued to bear eloquent testimony to his sterling priestly character. It survived the trying eighteen months after his death, when the parish was again without a priest; and when Father Peter Fischer, the next pastor, came October 19, 1862, he found a congregation ready and eager to continue the work which death had halted.

Of the \$24,000 which had been pledged \$12,128 were soon gathered together, and with this sum in hand operations were commenced. Plans were drawn for a stone edifice; and the land on which the church still stands was purchased June 27, 1864, at a cost of \$400. Contracts for the building were let in the same year, it being stipulated that the parish furnish the rough stone and pay, in addition, the sum of \$18,000. To provide the stone was no small task, necessitating as it did the opening of a stone quarry. But nothing daunted the congregation bought a small tract of land about two miles south of the town, and here the parishioners themselves quarried the stone, twenty men working during the day while four toiled throughout the night to pump out the constantly flooding waters.

The work progressed rapidly. And on June 2, 1864, the Right Rev. James Duggan, then Bishop of Chicago, solemnly laid the cornerstone (in which had been deposited various silver coins, the plan of the village of Naperville and copies of the DuPage County *Press*, the Chicago Union and Catholic papers of New York), the ceremony being witnessed by a large gathering of the faithful who were plainly jubilant at the success which was crowning their efforts. The first step had been well made in an improvement which comprised besides the new church, also the remodeling of the old building and its conversion into a school house.

The construction, however, had not advanced much further when a great difficulty was encountered in the form of a defaulting contractor who disappeared with the initial payment of \$6,000, leaving

his workmen unpaid. It was a trying situation; still the courage to meet it was not wanting. After some negotiation a second contractor (Mr. Struckmann of Elmhurst) was found to complete the work, but only after the parish had agreed to pay him the entire sum of \$18,000, and thus itself sustain the whole loss of \$6,000.

In spite of this interruption the building was completed in very nearly the originally contemplated time, and on March 29, 1866, the church was solemnly dedicated. It was the occasion of a great celebration, Bishop Duggan coming with a large party from Chicago, on a specially chartered train. The new church was placed under the patronage of Saints Peter and Paul; and from that time forward the parish at Naperville was no longer known as St. Raphael's, but as the parish of SS. Peter and Paul.^s

Father Fischer had been called away in November, 1864, before the new church was under roof, being removed to Chicago to take charge of St. Peter's parish. His successor, Father Max Albrecht, who came in November, 1864, and under whose direction the building was completed, remained only a few months after the dedication, leaving in the summer of 1866. But the parish was now too firmly established to suffer greatly through these changes. No longer a frail and delicate plant that could be blighted by every adverse wind, it had developed into a sturdy young oak that was destined to thrive and wax strong. The days of its infancy were now happily passed, and the age of virility had been reached. Even under unfavorable conditions the congregation might have continued a vigorous and active life; but fortunately these, too, had ceased. Frequent changes of pastors were a thing of the past. Priests had become more numerous in the land, and those who were sent to Naperville now found an opportunity to display their zeal for a number of years, with the result that the history of the parish of SS. Peter and Paul is henceforward one of steadily increasing growth and constantly advancing progress.

Father William De la Porte, the next pastor, presided over the parish for a little more than twelve years, from August, 1866 to November 1, 1878. The milestones which mark the course of his highly successful career here are as follows: a pipe-organ, still in use, was installed in August, 1869, at a cost of \$2,300; a brick parsonage, later converted into and still used as the convent or residence of the nuns, was erected at an expense of \$4,000; the church was completely overhauled and somewhat enlarged in 1876, the work costing \$18,000 and comprising the following items: addition of sanctuary and sacristy,

^s *Ib.*, p. 249.

erection of steeple (hitherto wanting), cementing of entire exterior, remodeling of interior into Gothic design, and frescoping the walls. These were improvements which entailed an outlay of considerable sums of money, but the parish did not find the expenditures too burdensome. Its financial prowess had become such that the indebtedness was not a whit larger when Father De la Porte left than it had been when he came, still standing at \$8,000. Meanwhile, too, the spiritual life of the parish had kept fully apace with its material growth, so that when Father De la Porte was called away in 1878, he left a congregation of 230 families pulsing with a vigorous and active Catholic life.⁹

Father August Wenker, the successor of Father De la Porte, enjoyed the longest administration of all of Naperville's pastors; he was active here for thirty-three years, from November 1, 1878, to 1911, when death put an end to his labors. The visible monuments that bear testimony to his zeal are chiefly the following: Carolus Hall, containing four school-rooms and the parish hall, erected in 1892 at a cost of \$18,000; a magnificent rectory, built in 1903 and costing, together with lots, \$15,000; various church appurtenances, such as altars, altar-rail, stations, stained glass windows and statuary. Other monuments there are, too, and more numerous still; but they will not be revealed to our human eyes until the dawning light of eternity discloses the immortal souls that that pious old priest, in his many years of service, garnered into the harvest.¹⁰

The present pastor, Rev. Bernard J. Schuette, was given charge of the parish at the death of Father Wenker in 1911, and in 1912 an assistant pastor in the person of Rev. John Heiler was appointed.

Great misfortune fell to the lot of the parish in 1911. On August 24th, the school, including the beautiful hall, with its complete furnishings, etc., was destroyed by fire. The cause of the conflagration has never become known, although the fire may have resulted from crossed electric wires. The entire building was so badly damaged that plans for rebuilding and enlarging were advisable. Pending the erection of the new building temporary schools were opened in other buildings.

The school was rebuilt and enlarged by an addition to the west of the old building, consisting of a chapel and children's play room in the basement, two rooms on the first floor, and an additional room on the second floor, making a total of seven school rooms. On the

⁹ For detailed biography of Father De LaPorte, see ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, January, 1922.

¹⁰ For extended account of Father Wenker's pastorate, see *Archdiocese of Chicago*, pp. 250-251.

upper floor a large hall was constructed and named Wenker Hall in honor of the late pastor, Reverend August Wenker, under whose regime the original school was erected.

In addition to the hall a smaller assembly room was constructed for meetings of societies, equipped also with kitchen and dressing rooms.

The entire building was put in first class condition, and all made to harmonize with respect to architecture, suitable halls, fire escapes, exits, etc. This fire occurred just before the death of Father Wenker, and the reconstruction and rehabilitation fell to the administration of the new pastor, Reverend Bernard J. Schuette, as his first parish activities.

The parish has been unusually successful under Father Schuette's administration. All of the church property has been put in first-class condition, and every dollar of indebtedness has been paid. Besides its church edifice the parish has a commodious rectory, a large and well equipped parochial school, a fine brick residence for the Sisters who teach the school, and a cemetery in first-class condition. A Catholic school has been maintained in the parish since 1850, and the present school building was erected in 1911 at a cost of \$30,000. There is an average attendance of 250 pupils distributed amongst the eight grades. There has been for several years a free school, being maintained out of the funds of the church.

Rev. Henry Lieblang was appointed assistant pastor in January 11th, 1922 and still acts in that capacity.

(REV.) HENRY LIEBLANG.

Naperville, Illinois.

¹¹ The parish consists of about 340 families, but so systematically have the affairs of the parish been conducted that the revenues which are received from all members of the Church, young and old, are abundant to maintain all the expenses, and to enable the congregation to have every suitable equipment and improvement.

¹² Since the above article was prepared by Father Lieblang, the assistant pastor, the beautiful church of SS. Peter and Paul was, on June 4, 1922, burned to the ground. The fire occurred during the night and caused a total loss, necessitating the building of an entirely new church, which the congregation has undertaken.

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EDITORIAL COMMENT

The Chance for Disagreement. A "Symposium" begun in the April, 1922, number of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, touching upon points in Illinois history that have been understood or stated differently by different writers illustrates the possibility of distortion. By taking one view of a reported event a different significance may be given the happening to that which would be natural if another view had been assumed. Accordingly, when a newspaper writer, after reading that the Mission of the Immaculate Conception was established by Father Marquette on the Illinois River near what is now Utica, and that it existed there for only a certain length of time, he concludes that the mission ended in failure; whereas, when the facts are known, it appears that the mission was only removed to a new place, and has existed and flourished from its founding to the present. In view of the ease with which wrong impressions may be gained from partial or defective information, it is plainly most desirable that reliable and complete data be furnished and published concerning points of historic interest. In that connection the value of the historical magazine, like the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORI-

CAL REVIEW, is made plainly apparent. No other channel could be more satisfactory for the purpose of examining doubtful or mooted points, and through intensive study and examination to uncover the facts and settle difficulties and controversies. Accordingly, readers are invited to seek out all questions of difficulty and co-operate with the publishers in bringing to light the truth with regard, especially to all controverted historical questions. Indeed, if a demand should develop, a query department will be opened to which readers may apply either for information, or in which those who have information may make the same known. Let us attack these history problems with a view to handing down to posterity a solid body of accurate historical information.

The First Catholic Congregation. Anniversaries, centenaries, diamond jubilees, etc., have the effect of turning our thoughts backwards. Here in the practically new western country we are approaching some 250th anniversaries. Several centenaries have been passed, and the diamond and golden jubilees have been numerous. Reflecting upon these matters our thoughts quite naturally turn to the very first residents, the first priests and the first peoples, because, as Judge Sidney Breese has so happily expressed it in his *Early History of Illinois*:

“A fort is usually the first erection of all intruders into new colonies, as a protection against those whose animosity is so apt to be excited by the intrusion. But in this part of the valley it was a church. The cross was planted instead of palisades, and the priest in his frock was more potent than the soldier in his armor.” (p. 151.)

We are fortunate in being able to trace with considerable accuracy the priests and other early white men who first visited or peopled our region. It seems most unfortunate, however, that much of what became known of the aboriginal residents, the Indians, has been lost. Various estimates of the number of Indians that existed in North America at about the time that European colonization began have been made, and it is perhaps true that some of them are quite inaccurate. Some writers have estimated that there were as many as one hundred thousand Indians within or very nearly within the territory now known as Illinois at or about the time of Marquette and La Salle. There have been several students of the Indian problem, some of whom have gotten together a wealth of information about the Redman. There is, however, a peculiarity that runs through all of these studies, in that they deal almost wholly with tribes, families, and divisions. Only here and there, and, rather incidentally, do individuals come to the surface, and it is only in such cases that we catch a glimpse of some of the big Indian figures. Insofar as individual representatives of the red race have been treated of, it is regrettable to recognize that the most warlike have received the most attention. To sustain this suggestion we need only refer to distinguished Indian characters in our own neighborhood, such as Tecumseh, Pontiac and Blackhawk. Not only general literature, but school books contain many references to these chiefs. What can be learned with reference to great Indian chieftains who accepted Christianity and civilization, and far from making war became the ardent friends and efficient co-workers of the white pioneers? In this category may be mentioned first of all perhaps, at least when considering the savages of the Illinois country, the distinguished chief, Chicagou. Contemporary with Chicagou, or, perhaps even earlier, was the great chief Rouensa. Father James Gravier, S. J., had very friendly

relations with a powerful chief, and a very devout Indian maiden was a member of his congregation at Peoria. Father Charlevoix made the acquaintance of a particularly distinguished Indian chief, who was christianized and civilized. Indeed, nearly every missionary in the field speaks in the highest terms of civilized Indians of great capacity, just as Father Marquette speaks of the chief who received him on the banks of the Des Moines River, and whom Longfellow has named Hiawatha. At a later period the great chief of the Miamas, Pokegan, developed his tribe under the direction of Father Stephen Theodore Badin. It would be very interesting to know more of these great men who were nurtured by nature herself, and whose capabilities were given useful direction by Christian instruction. We are endeavoring to assemble data with reference to some of these historic characters. Who can and will help shed light upon the career of any of them?

The Priest in Catholic History. Father Campbell, the distinguished Jesuit clergyman and writer, has completed, and the Encyclopedia Press has published, a volume entitled *The Jesuits*. We have not had the good fortune to see Father Campbell's book, but we are familiar with all his other writings, and have read some of the reviews in various publications, and feel justified in saying that the work is very valuable. This and a few other books dealing with Catholic history in one way or another derive their greatest value from the data collected and published concerning Catholic priests. Off-hand, one would suppose that there would be some record in every diocese to which an investigator might refer, and where could be found the name and some data concerning every priest who ever ministered in the diocese, and especially all those that became officially connected with the diocese. Strange as it may seem such data are rarely available. Investigators frequently find it impossible to trace the movements of men of distinction who have served with great success through a part of their lives. Take, for example, the case of the Rev. Francis Joseph Fischer, assistant to the second and third pastors of Chicago. Here was an exceedingly busy and eminently successful priest. He may be traced for a few years after his removal from Chicago to parishes in Indiana, but suddenly his name disappears from the records under circumstances that leave no inference of his going astray, being silenced, or anything of that sort, but his subsequent career just simply cannot be traced. Our own experience teaches us that it is a most difficult matter even to name the priests that have served in the diocese and archdiocese of Chicago. We have been trying for some years to compile such a list, and find no record to which application can be made for complete data in this regard. Father Campbell would perhaps be somewhat better situated in attempting to present the names of the Jesuits, since the record of the order would supplement parish and directory entries. The same is true with respect to any of the religious orders. But aside from such records and as far as the secular priests are concerned recourse must be had to diocesan and parish records as far as they will extend and, as an auxiliary, to the Church directories which, for recent years are more or less complete, but which are only fragmentary in their earliest forms. One of the most successful attempts at tracing diocesan clergymen is that of Father John H. LaMott, S. T. D., in his *History of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati*. If Father LaMott had done nothing more than formulate the matter contained in Appendix XVI, beginning on page 351 and concluding on page 399, he would have conferred an invaluable boon upon the Church in Ohio. In passing it should be noted,

however, that Father LaMott's book is a model diocesan history in all respects. If by some means or other a similar compilation could be obtained for every diocese in the United States, we would then have one valuable historical source supplied. There is no danger that too much importance will be given the treatment of ecclesiastics in the preparation of Catholic history. It is impossible to give that subject too much importance. The priest, the bishop and the archbishop constitute the very foundation of Catholic history, without whom scarcely a single page of Catholic history could be written. It is impossible to understand a religious movement of any sort, in which Catholics are interested, without knowing the part played by the priest and the bishop therein; and as religious movements are interlocked and intertwined with and inseparable from civil affairs everywhere, in spite of the separation of Church and State, no history is complete without recognition of this element. Accordingly, viewing the situation from a number of years of painstaking study we feel justified in saying to all ambitious students of history: "Before you start to write the Catholic history of any community, find out who and what were the priests, and after you have learned who they were, study what they did, and you will find their activities running through the whole life of the community. Around the priest and the organization which he effects you can build the structure that will represent the true record of the community."

Devices for Creating Interest in History. Some of the Catholic societies have found means for stimulating an interest in Catholic history, and are meeting with a quite gratifying measure of success. The Catholic Order of Foresters, for example, maintains an annual history contest through the State Court of Illinois, of which Mr. William F. Ryan is Chief Ranger. The pupils of every parochial school are qualified to enter the contest, and the winner in each school is given a medal. The general subject assigned is "Catholics in American History," and the whole field of Catholic history is thrown open to the contestants. That these contests are the source of much interest in the schools has been proven to the satisfaction of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW by the numerous inquiries from contestants concerning matters within the scope of the subject. In the contest just completed we have had the privilege to see a paper prepared by Gertrude Lorraine Conley, a pupil of St. Gertrude's School, and the winning contestant. This paper is rather remarkable for brevity, clarity and accuracy, and illustrates well the value of the development of an interest in an important subject. It is entirely safe to say that these young writers have learned more of that particular part of American history which concerns Catholics under the stimulus of this contest than they would ever otherwise have known. The Illinois State Court does well to adhere to a single broad subject and repeat its program from year to year, as in this way pupils and students as they progress will be brought into contact with Catholic history in a practical way and a large number will become well informed on the subject. These contests may ultimately have a wider influence. Because of them parents and teachers may be brought to a realization; first, of the really glorious history of the Catholic Church in America, and, secondly, the utter failure of means of teaching or making known that history. It may finally occur to all such that if it is desirable that Catholic history shall be known, it is necessary that Catholics shall prepare it, and teach it. It is useful and desirable that untruths and misrepresentations contained in historical works and text books and school courses should be exposed and refuted, but it is

equally important that the truth and all of the creditable portion of the Catholic record shall be made known. The school is a very advantageous place for making young Catholics familiar with Catholic history, and upon reflection most Catholics will agree that the subject deserves due attention in the school.

The Difference Between News and History. The development of the newspaper has had the effect of confusing readers on the question of what is and what is not history. A clever writer has said that history is really nothing more than pickled news, and it has often been stated that history frequently fails to record exact facts, but is only a recital of agreements that have been reached after attempts have been made by many different people to recite facts. A familiar example of this is found in an account of a battle. Opposing commanders prepare their several accounts which, upon examination, are found not to agree; other statements, sometimes quite unofficial or informal, are examined, the circumstances are called in to aid, and finally the chronicler sets down his deductions from all of these varying reports, which may or may not accord with the actual facts. The same situation arises in many other circumstances, and is especially apparent in cases where bias or prejudice is present. It is freely conceded that once the so-called Reformation attained prominence and a degree of power that published reports concerning the Catholic Church, or the activities of the Catholic clergy or laity have been untruthful or warped and distorted. Reference need only be made to the numerous mis-statements as to what the Church professes or teaches, or as to the faults which Church authorities have been charged with committing. Now all those false charges as they arose and were published broadcast may possess the qualities of news, and as many of them appear in so-called historical works, they may have some of the elements of "pickled news," but they are not history, because they lack the chief element of history, that is, truth. And even if circumstances make it necessary in some instances that the truth may only be approximated on account of conflicting views, yet the approximate truth is more historical than a report which had some currency, but never contained any truth. This difference between news and history is of more than passing importance, in view of the fact that investigators and some history writers are inclined to grasp at contemporaneous news accounts of events as the highest form of authority for historical statements. Writers need to be warned to examine the character of the medium in which such accounts are found, as well as to inquire into the state of public feeling at the time, and other circumstances, which might tend to color the accounts. It is always advisable to maintain a distinction between news and history.

BOOK REVIEWS

Columbus—A Drama in 3 Acts, Daniel E. Doran.

Columbus, is a drama, based on the life of Christopher Columbus, in three acts, written by Daniel E. Doran, of the National Council of Catholic Men, Washington, D. C. for the 430th anniversary of the discovery of America.

Mr. Doran has accomplished a work of merit, both from an historical and a theatrical point of view.

The play, *Columbus*, is well constructed, good climaxes in every scene, crisp dialogue, racy, yet of the language of the period. There are periods of lofty thought and of high poetic emotion, suitable to a serious drama of this nature. The characters are interesting, consistent, excellently drawn

Many points in the play deserve special mention, for peculiarly good ideas for dramatic situation. In the first act, the court of Spain, where the famous story of Columbus and the egg is skillfully presented, a love theme is introduced between Dolores, a beautiful young girl, protegee of Isabella, and Ricardo, a courtier, one of the followers of Columbus.

In Act two, on board the Santa Maria, there are several big, thrilling moments, rising to an intense climax when the discouraged mariners plot to make away with their Admiral and throw his body overboard.

Act 3 returns again to the court room of Ferdinand and Isabella. Preparations are being made for the celebration that day of the marriage of the unwilling Dolores to Don Juan, an ignoble Spanish nobleman, the choice of her father, when news comes that Columbus is back in Spain, returned from his voyage and journeying towards the court with his faithful men. Ricardo returns with Columbus to claim his bride, Dolores, and the curtain descends upon a scene of acclamation and joy.

A work of this classical, permanent value deserves special recognition from Catholics, especially during this centennial year of the discovery of America, and Knights of Columbus, schools and colleges could add prestige to their historical annals by the presentation of one or more acts from Mr. Doran's drama. The play is so arranged that the first or the last act may be presented alone; or the second act may be presented as a complete one-act play; or again, the first and second acts may be presented as an evening's entertainment. The second act has this advantage, that it calls for male characters only—

eleven altogether, and has in it all the elements of a tense, dramatic one-act play.

Not enough consideration is given by the public to works of this kind, to help preserve the lasting value of their historical annals and archives, their endurance is most often, of no permanent period—an apparition of the moment. Such a work as Mr. Doran's *Columbus* deserves to be preserved for all time. It has been suggested that the entire drama be used as a libretto for a Grand Opera—the poetry and dignity of the lines would lend themselves admirably to be set to music in its present form.

Why not uplifting, stimulating themes for Grand Opera libretto, as well as the salacious, *Salome*, *Thais*, *Mona Vanna*?

The second act of *Columbus* was presented by a Washington Amateur Drama Guild recently with great success. The manuscript is released through DRAMATIC BUREAU—Room 856, 200 Fifth Avenue, New York.

CECELIA M. YOUNG

MISCELLANY

Early Beaubiens

On the Baptismal Records of St. Mary's Church, Chicago, for the years 1833 and 1834, that is, during the first two years after St. Mary's, the first church in Chicago, was established, the following members of the Beaubien family were baptized:

George Beaubien, son of Mark Beaubien and Monique Nadeau Beaubien, born August 19th, 1832, baptized by Father St. Cyr, May 22nd, 1833.

Caroline Beaubien, daughter of Jean B. Beaubien and Josette Laframboise Beaubien, born August 10th, 1832, baptized by Father St. Cyr, —————, 1833.

Eleanor Beaubien, daughter of Mark Beaubien and Monique Nadeau Beaubien, born April 6, 1834, baptized by Father St. Cyr, July 6, 1834.

Three Late Indian Chiefs of the Illinois Country

ALEXANDER ROBINSON

Alexander Robinson (Che-che-pin-qua), a chief of the United Pottawatomi, Chippawas and Ottawas, was born at Mackinaw, 1762, according to popular belief, and his age as stated at the time of his death, although the years of his life are somewhat doubtful. His father was a Scotch trader who had been an officer in the British army, and his mother was an Ottawa woman. He married at Mackinaw and moved with his wife to the St. Joseph in Michigan, where he became an Indian trader, and it is said, an associate of Joseph Bailly. With other friendly Pottawatomies he did all in his power to shield the Americans from the fury of the hostile Indians, at the time of, and to do anything to prevent the massacre, of which he was a witness; after, the Fort Dearborn massacre. He arrived on the scene too late but, on his return to St. Joseph, he received and sheltered the family of Mr. Kinzie, who received from himself and wife "all possible kindness and hospitality for several months." Not confining their good deeds to the family of Mr. Kinzie, the generous host and hostess. Finding that Captain and Mrs. Heald, who had been brought to St. Joseph by Jean Baptiste Chandonnais, clerk of Mr. Kinzie, were in

danger of being recaptured and taken back to the Kankakee, he carried them safely in a bark canoe to Mackinaw, a distance of three hundred miles, where they were surrendered to the British commandant. It is not known just when Robinson settled in Chicago, but as he had been here, at least two seasons, and with Antoine Ouilmette had cultivated the field belonging to the fort, raising thereon corn, when Captain Bradley arrived to rebuild Fort Dearborn in 1816. In 1825 his personal property was assessed at \$200 by the Peoria County Assessor. He served in 1823 and 1826 as Indian interpreter under Dr. Wolcott, at a salary of \$365, during the latter year. He is recorded as a voter in 1825, 1826 and 1830, and on June 8 of the latter year was licensed to keep tavern in Chicago. He had owned prior to this time, a cabin or trading-post at Hardscrabble, but vacated it before 1826. On September 28, 1826, he was married by John Kinzie, J. P., to Catherine Chevalier, daughter of Francois and Mary Ann Chevalier. Francois Chevalier was chief of a united band of Pottawatomies, Ottawas and Chippewas; with his village at the Calumet. At his death, Robinson became chief of the band. At the treaty of Prairie du Chien, July, 1829, he was granted two sections of land on the Desplaines; by the treaty of Camp Tippecanoe, October 20, 1832, a life annuity of \$200, and by the Chicago treaty of September, 1833, an additional annuity of \$300. His exertions, with those of Billy Caldwell, prevented the tribe from joining the Sauks in the Winnebago War of 1827, and Black Hawk in 1832. During the latter part of his residence in Chicago, he lived at Wolf Point, where he had a store or trading-house. After the Indians were removed beyond the Mississippi, he settled with his family on his reservation on the Desplaines, where he lived until his death, which occurred April 22, 1872. His wife died August 7, 1860. They were both, with two sons and a daughter-in-law, buried on the bank of the river near the old home.

William Caldwell

Billy Caldwell (Sauganash), one of the most conspicuous, as well as one of the most notable, characters identified with the history of early Chicago, was an Indian half-breed. He was the son of Colonel Caldwell, an Irish officer in the British army stationed at Detroit, and was born about the year 1780. His mother was a Pottawatomie, and is said to have been remarkable for her beauty and intelligence. Billy received a good education at the Jesuit schools of Detroit and learned to speak and write the French and English languages fluently. He also acquired the knowledge of a number of Indian dialects. Little is known in detail of the events of his life, but we know that he took

an active part against the Americans in the War of 1812. In person he was large and commanding, of great strength and power of endurance. At first his Indian name was "Straight Tree" on account of his fine appearance, but he is better known by the name of Sauganash, or the Englishman. He early fell under the influence of Tecumseh, became the secretary of that warrior, and was intimately associated with him from 1807 until Tecumseh's death. Very little is known of Caldwell's career as a warrior, for upon the subject of the war he was always remarkably reticent. He undoubtedly was engaged in most of the battles or actions in which Tecumseh was engaged, and he was often sent by his chief on important missions. He and Shaw-bo-nee, do not appear to have been present at Fort Dearborn before or at the time of the massacre, but we find them both here the next day when they were instrumental in saving the family of John Kinzie. It is altogether likely that they were the runners sent by Tecumseh to the Pottawatomies to inform them in regard to the fall of Fort Mackinac and to bring them as far as possible in league with him. The incident of his saving the Kinzie family is related in the sketch given elsewhere of the life of John Kinzie. Caldwell participated in the battle of the Thames, October 5, 1813, where Tecumseh was killed, but what active service he was engaged in after that is not known. The credential he gave Shawbonee shows that he was a captain in the British Indian Department as late as 1816. That document reads as follows:

"This is to certify that the bearer of this name, Chamblie, was a faithful companion to me during the late war with the United States. The bearer joined the late celebrated warrior Tecumseh, of the Shawnee nation, in the year 1807, on the Wabash river, and remained with the above warrior from the commencement of hostilities with the United States, until our defeat at Moravian Town, on the Thames, October 5, 1813. I also have been witness to his intrepidity and courage as warrior on many occasions, and he showed a great deal of humanity to those unfortunate sons of Mars who fell into his hands.

B. CALDWELL, Captain I. D.

Amherstburg, August 1816."

At what time Caldwell took up his residence near Fort Dearborn is not definitely known, but probably about the year 1820. Chicago was still a trading post, but the fort had been rebuilt and an Indian Agent resided here. It was a central point where the Indians gathered to receive their annuities and do their trading. In 1826 we find Caldwell duly appointed Justice of the Peace for Peoria County, but he probably was seldom called upon to act in his official capacity.

He was a voter, and his name appears on the poll lists of 1826 and 1830. He usually officiated as one of the clerks of the election. By the treaty with the Pottawatomies held at Prairie du Chien in 1829, two and one-half sections of land on the Chicago River were granted to him, and by the subsequent treaties of 1832 and 1833 an annuity aggregating one thousand dollars was bestowed by the Government. The land was located on the North Branch, about six miles from the junction with the main river. This land he sold at an early day. There was also a house built for him by the Department for Indian Affairs on the North Side near where is now the corner of State Street and Chicago Avenue. He was always, after his removal to Fort Dearborn, the unchangeable friend of the whites, and his influence with his tribe was exerted to preserve peace. In 1827 at the time of the threatened outbreak by the Winnebagoes, and when the latter were doing all in their power to engage the Pottawatomies in a war with the whites, it was the influence of Caldwell and Shawbonee that prevented it. And again in 1832 he prevented his people from allying themselves with Black Hawk in his desperate raid on the white settlements. Caldwell was very desirous of teaching his people the habits and customs of the whites. He wanted them to become educated and civilized. When Mr. Watkins started a school in 1832 Caldwell offered to pay the tuition and buy books and clothes for all Indian children who would attend school, if they would dress like the Americans, but it is stated none of them accepted. Neither did he approve the Indian custom of polygamy, and he never had but one wife. He found in her, however, a temper sufficiently hot for several, and his cabin is said to have often resounded with her animated tones, when rating her liege lord. She is said to have been a sister of the chief, "Yellow Head," and a daughter of Nee-scot-ne-meg, one of the principal participants in the massacre of 1812. They had one son who died in youth. James M. Bucklin, the chief engineer of the Illinois & Michigan Canal in 1830, says of Billy Caldwell:

"From Billy Caldwell, a half-breed, with some education and great intelligence, who had explored the country in every direction, I often procured valuable information during my explorations. It was he who first suggested making a feeder of the Calumie River."

When the time came for the removal of the Indians, under the various treaties with them, Caldwell's influence was exerted to make their removal peaceful and successful. He determined to leave his cherished white friends behind, and cast his fortunes with his people, and share their privations and trials with them. In 1836, under the leadership of Captain Russell, the Government Agent, and Billy

Caldwell, the Indians to the number of nearly twenty-five hundred assembled for the last time at Chicago, to receive their payments, and then take up their line of march for their new home on the Missouri, at Council Bluffs. Through the influence of Sauganash the removal was accomplished with ease and success. He never returned again to the scenes of his youth and manhood. Age was coming on him, and the bustling activity of the ambitious young city had no charm for one whose life had been passed amid the wildness of nature. He seems to have taken some interest in public affairs and during the exciting presidential campaign of 1840, he with his friend, Shawbonee, published the following letter:

.. Council Bluffs, March 23, 1840.

TO GENERAL HARRISON'S FRIENDS:

The other day several newspapers were brought to us; and peeping over them, to our astonishment we found that the hero of the late war was called a coward. This would have surprised the tall braves, Tecumseh of the Shawnees, and Round Head and Walk-in-the Water of the Wyandotts. If the departed could rise again, they would say to the white man that General Harrison was the terror of the late tomahawkers. The first time we got acquainted with General Harrison, it was at the council-fire of the late Old Tempest, General Wayne, on the headquarters of the Wabash, at Greenville, 1796. From that time until 1811, we had many friendly smokes with him; but from 1812 we changed our tobacco smoke into powder smoke. Then we found General Harrison was a brave warrior and humane to his prisoners, as reported to us by two of Tecumseh's young men who were taken in the fleet with Captain Barclay on the 10th of September, 1813, and on the Thames, where he routed both the red men and the British, and where he showed his courage and his humanity to his prisoners, both white and red. See report of Adam Brown and family, taken on the morning of the battle, October 5, 1813. We are the only two surviving of that day in this country. We hope the good white men will protect the name of General Harrison. We remain your friends forever.

CHAMBLEE (Shawbonee), Aid to Tecumseh.
B. CALDWELL (Sauganash), Captain."

Caldwell did not long survive the removal, but died in his new home in Council Bluffs on the 28th of September, 1841, at the age of sixty-two. His most striking characteristic was his humanity. In this respect he resembled his great leader, Tecumseh. He did all in his power to alleviate the horrors of the war, and in time of peace did all he could to promote the feeling of friendship between the Indians and whites. By the first residents and settlers of Chicago he was highly respected, and some are still surviving who esteemed it no small priv-

ilege to accompany him on a hunting excursion. The esteem in which he was generally held is well reflected in the action of Mark Beaubien, when he named his new tavern. It was suggested to Mark that he should name his house after some great man. He could think of no greater personage than Billy Caldwell and so his tavern became celebrated as the "Sauganash."

Shabonee

Sha-bo-nee, whose name has been written in many ways, among other, as Chamblic, in Billy Caldwell's certificate heretofore given, was the son of an Ottawa chief, and was born near the Maumee River in Ohio about the year 1775. He married the daughter of a Pottawatomie, and he seems thereafter to have been more identified with the Pottawatomies than with the Ottawas, though these tribes were always more or less intimately associated. His village was on the Illinois near where the present city of Ottawa now stands, but he subsequently removed it to what is now known as Shabbona Grove in DeKalb County. Shabonee became associated with Caldwell and Tecumseh about the year 1807, and was their firm ally in all their enterprises, until the death of Tecumseh. Shawbonee was present at the battle of the Thames, and was by the side of Tecumseh when he was killed. He always maintained that it was Colonel Richard Johnson who fired the fatal shot that killed his chief. After the war was over he gave in his adherence to the United States Government, and from that time forth until the end of his life he was a strong and constant friend to the Americans, and on more than one occasion risked his own life to save his white friend. At the time of the so-called Winnebago war, in 1827, there was no military force at Fort Dearborn, and it was greatly feared by the settlers in the neighborhood that the Pottawatomies would be led to join with the northern tribes in war against the whites. After the annual payment was made in September of that year rumors that Big Foot's band, which had their villages on Lake Geneva, would certainly join with the Winnebagoes, fell thick and fast upon the ears of the startled settlers. At this juncture Shawbonee and Caldwell used their influence to restrain their own bands, and also volunteered to find out what were the plans of the Winnebagoes, and whether Big Foot's band really intended to join with them. With this purpose in view they visited Big Foot's village, and by their astuteness and clever management, succeeded in preventing Big Foot's band from entering into the threatened alliance. The last attempt made to engage the Pottawatomies in war with the whites was that made by Black Hawk in 1832. The celebrated

warrior, emulating the example of Tecumseh a quarter of a century before, sought to enlist all the Indian tribes in a general war. A great council was held at Indiantown in February, 1832, and there with great eloquence and force Black Hawk enlarged upon the necessity of co-operation in order to save their hunting grounds from the encroachments of the whites. "Let all our tribes unite," said the twany orator, "and we shall have an army of warriors equal in number to the trees of the forest." The appeal was powerful and it required all the influence of Shawbonee, Caldwell and Robinson to overcome it. But these men well knew the power and military resources of the whites, and how hopeless a war with them would be. Said Shawbonee in answer to Black Hawk's figure of speech as to their numbers, "Your army would equal in number the trees of the forest, and you would encounter an army of palefaces as numerous as the leaves of on those trees." The council failed in uniting the Indians in a common cause, and although Black Hawk made one more effort to gain Shawbonee in his cause, he utterly failed. Not only did Shawbonee repel all the efforts of Black Hawk, but when the war broke out, by his personal exertions, and at the risk of his life, he succeeded in warning some of the frontier settlers in time to save their lives. By the treaty of Prairie du Chien two sections of land were granted to Shawbonee. This was located by him at the place where for many years his village had been situated in DeKalb County. A survey and plat were made accordingly, and here Shawbonee resided until his band was removed to the West in 1837. He accompanied them with his family, but unfortunately their reservation was in the neighborhood of that of the Sacs and Foxes. The feud which had arisen between the tribes on account of Shawbonee's refusal to co-operate with Black Hawk still existed, and culminated in the murder of Shawbonee's eldest son and nephew by some of the revengeful Sacs and Foxes. Shawbonee himself narrowly escaped and he was induced to return again with his family to his old home. He resided at his favorite grove with his family, for a number of years, until his tribe was removed to their new reservation in Kansas. This induced him to again join his red brethern, but he remained with them only for three years, when he again returned to his Illinois home. But a change had now recurred. The Land Department had ordered a new survey and ignored Shawbonee's claim, holding that he had forfeited it by removal from it. It was entered at the land office at Dixon for sale, and when Shawbonee returned, he found his favorite home in the possession of strangers. His eminent services in behalf of the whites in the early days were all forgotten

and he was ruthlessly driven from the spot he so much loved and about which clustered so many of his dearest recollections. A few of his early friends hearing of his circumstances, united in the purchase of a small tract of twenty acres near Morris. Here he lived with the remnants of his family until July, 1859, when he died. His remains lie buried in the cemetery of Morris. In personal appearance he was one of the finest specimens of the American Indian. Tall, straight, and muscular, he was said to have been a model of physical manhood. Until late in life his habits were temperate, but the misfortunes of his later years often led him to the intemperate use of that liquor which has ever been the enemy of his race. He owed much to the teachings and precepts of Tecumseh, and he in all things endeavored to conform himself to the example of that great warrior. He was humane as well as courageous, and always exerted his influence to protect unfortunate captives from the violence of the savages. A portrait of him adorns the walls of the Chicago Historical Society rooms, and his name and memory are preserved in the records of that association. (Andreas, *History of Chicago*, Vol. I.)

EDITOR'S NOTE.—It is rather remarkable that so little information exists concerning these three very notable figures in Illinois history. Local historians were writing history while these three Indians were yet alive and active in and about Chicago. Caldwell and Shawbonee were closely identified with Tecumseh and the Shawnee tribe. Tecumseh's brother was a great Indian prophet, who had a religion of his own which, with the power and influence of his brother, Tecumseh, he imposed upon most of the members of the tribe. It is to be noted, however, that Caldwell was a Catholic. Whether he inherited his religion from his Irish father, or received it in some school in Detroit, where Andreas says he was educated by the Jesuits, is not known. In connection with this assertion of Andreas it may be said that there was no Jesuit college at Detroit at the time that Caldwell was growing up. Of course there were some Catholic schools there, in which Caldwell may have been educated, and careless references may have made them Jesuit schools.

Caldwell was a member of the first Catholic congregation of Chicago, and was one of the petitioners for a priest, his name appearing on the petition sent to Bishop Rosati under which John Mary Iraneaus St. Cyr was sent to Chicago.

I have been unable to learn anything about Shawbonee's religious persuasions, although he resided near Ottawa and Morris during the last half of his life. Nobody has taken occasion to mention anything concerning his religious beliefs or affiliations, if he had any.

Alexander Robinson seems always to have been a Catholic. His name also appears on the petition for a priest sent to Bishop Rosati in 1833. His daughters attended St. Xavier's Academy, and all the members of the family seem to have been and remained Catholics.

Sauganash and the Fort Dearborn Massacre

In the summer of 1812, messengers from Tecumseh visited many villages in northern Illinois, informing the tribes that war had been declared between the United States and England, and offering the warriors large sums of money to fight for the latter. These emissaries wished to capture Fort Dearborn before the garrison knew that war existed. Shabbona intended at first to remain at home and take no part in the war, but hearing that a number of warriors from other villages and a few from his own had left for Chicago, he mounted his pony and followed them.

Shabbona and a few warriors arrived at Chicago on the afternoon after the fatal day of the Fort Dearborn massacre. This was August 16, 1812, the same day of the cowardly surrender of General Hull at Detroit.

The chieftain and his young warriors were horrified at the sight of blood and carnage. The sand along the beach where the massacre had occurred was dyed and soaked with the blood of forty-two dead bodies of soldiers, women and children, all of whom were scalped and mutilated. The body of Captain William Wells, for whom Wells Street, Chicago is named, lay in one place, his head in another, while his arms and legs were scattered about in different places.

The captain had been very friendly with Black Partridge, and that chief now gathered up his remains and gave them decent burial near where they were found, but the remains of the other victims of the massacre lay where they had fallen until the rebuilding of Fort Dearborn, in 1816, when they were collected and interred by order of Captain Bradley.

The prisoners who had been spared were taken to the Indian camp, which was near the present crossing of Jackson and State Streets, and closely guarded.

John Kinzie, whose residence stood on the north bank of the river opposite the fort, had been the Indian trader at this place for eight years, and, of course, he had many friends among the savages. As a special favor he was permitted to return to his own house, accompanied by his family, including a stepdaughter (the wife of Lieutenant Helm) now badly wounded.

The evening of the massacre the chiefs present held a council to decide the fate of the prisoners, and it was agreed to deliver them to the British Commander at Detroit, according to the terms of surrender. This would have been done, but unfortunately many warriors from a distance came into camp after dark, who were thirsting for blood, and seemed determined to murder the prisoners, in spite

of the decision of the chiefs in council and the stipulated terms of surrender.

Black Partridge and Shabbona with a few of their warriors, determined to make an effort to protect the inmates of Kinzie's house from the tomahawks of the bloodthirsty savages; accordingly they took a position on the porch with their rifles crossing the doorway. But the guard was overpowered by sheer numbers, as a large party of hostile savages, with their faces painted, rushed by them, forcing their way into the house. The parlor and sitting-room were quickly filled with Indians, who stood with scalping knives and tomahawks in hand, waiting the signal from their leader to commence the bloody work. Mrs. Kinzie with her children, and Mrs. Helm, sat in a back room weeping at the thought of the horrible death which awaited them in a moment. Even Black Partridge was in utter despair, and said to Mrs. Kinzie, "We have done everything in our power to save you, but now all is lost; you and your friends, together with the prisoners at the camp, will be slain." But there was a chief in the camp who had more influence than either Black Partridge or Shabbona. At the instant Black Partridge spoke a loud whoop was heard at the river. He immediately ran to see what it meant, and in the darkness saw a canoe approaching, and shouted to its occupant, "Who are you, friend or foe?" The newcomer leaped ashore exclaiming in reply, "I am Sauganash." His voice rang out like a trumpet on the still night air, reaching the ears of Mrs. Kinzie and her friends in the back room of her house, and a faint hope sprung up in her heart. She knew Sauganash, or Billy Caldwell, the half-breed, could save them if he only reached the house in time. Black Partridge now shouted, "Hasten to the house, for our friends are in danger and you alone can save them!" The tall, manly-looking chief, with his head adorned with eagle feathers and rifle in hand, ran to the house, rushed into the parlor, which was still full of scowling savages with weapons drawn, and by entreaties, and threats of dire vengeance of his friend and kinsman, the great Tecumseh, who never, when present, allowed a massacre of prisoners, he prevailed on them to abandon their murderous designs. Through his influence Kinzie's family and the prisoners at the camp were saved a horrible death.

It was afterward found that a young halfbreed girl, who had been in Kinzie's family for some time, where she had received kind treatment, seeing the hostile savages approaching, ran to Billy Caldwell's wigwam, and informed him of their danger, when he hastened to the rescue just in time. This young halfbreed girl afterward married a Frenchman named Joseph Pethier.

Sauganash, or Billy Caldwell, one of the heroes of the Fort Dearborn massacre, was a son of Colonel Caldwell, of the British army, who for many years was stationed at Detroit. His mother was a squaw of great beauty and intelligence, a connection (possibly a sister) of the renowned Tecumseh. He was known by the name of Sauganash, which in the Pottawatomic language means an Englishman. Billy Caldwell had a good education for that time, was a very popular chief, the idol of his band and possessed a remarkable influence over the entire tribe. He lived at Chicago twenty-six years in a cabin located on the north side of the river, near where North Water crosses La Salle Street. He went west with his tribe in June, 1836, and died in Kansas some years after this. (From *Lives of Famous Indian Chiefs*, by N. A. Wood, p. 404 et. seq.)

The story is told by another writer as follows:

The afternoon of the day of the massacre witnessed the assemblage of a company under the roof of the Kinzie mansion, gathered together after a day of excitement, bloodshed and distress seldom experienced in the lives of civilized people. Across the river could be seen the wild antics of the victorious savages shouting and dancing exultantly in their camp ransacking and plundering the buildings of the fort, and preparing to torture their wounded prisoners to death.

Notwithstanding the fact that the Kinzie family were closely guarded by their Indian friends, that Black Partridge and four other Indians had "established themselves in the porch of the building as sentinels, to protect the family from any evil that the young men (of the tribes) might be excited to commit, their peril was very great and their lives hung by a thread. All remained tranquil, however, until the next day, when they beheld the fort consumed by fire, and the spot left a scene of smoking desolation.

At this time a party of Indians from the Wabash made their appearance having heard of the intended evacuation of the post, and who were eager to share in the spoils. They were disappointed and enraged to find that they had arrived too late, that the spoils had been divided and the scalps all taken. They had no particular regard for Mr. Kinzie and they at once showed signs of hostility. They blackened their faces and proceeded towards the Kinzie house, but were observed by Black Partridge, whose fears were particularly awakened for the safety of Mrs. Helm, as she had only recently come to the post and was unknown to the more remote Indians. By his directions she disguised herself and took refuge in the house of Ouilmette close at hand. Ouilmette himself, being a Frenchman, and living with an Indian wife, was never molested by the Indians at any

and some other presents given to them, and they took their departure peaceably from the house.

This account is taken mainly from Mrs. Kinzie's narrative printed in "Wau-Bun," which was obtained by her from her husband, John H. Kinzie, who as a boy of nine years of age, was with his father, John Kinzie, through this thrilling experience. Mrs. Kinzie's narrative "has been accepted by the historians of Illinois," says Thwaites in his introduction to "Wau-Bun" (Caxton Club Edition), "as substantially accurate, and other existing accounts are generally based on this."

It is noteworthy that the main sources of our information in regard to the massacre are furnished by three women, Mrs. Captain Heald and Mrs. Lieutenant Helm, who were participants in the dreadful scenes of that day, and Mrs. John H. Kinzie, who wrote of it twenty-five years later, deriving her information from eye witnesses.

There are likewise other accounts of a fragmentary character, and among them there are inconsistencies and discrepancies in details; but it seems remarkable that women chroniclers should have been the ones to have given anything like a connected narrative of this bloody episode in our history. (From *Chicago, Its History and Builders*, by J. Seymour Curry, Vol. I, p. 89 ed. nq.)

One of the Last of De Smet's Companions Dies in Omaha

At St. Joseph's Hospital, Omaha, Tuesday evening, February 21, died Father John Baptist De Schryver, S. J., one of the last survivors of the many Belgian youths brought to America by Father De Smet. Father De Schryver was born at Opdorp, East Flanders, Belgium, October 26, 1849. He served in the Belgian cavalry in 1869 and 1870, and entered the Jesuit novitiate at Tronchiennes, March 19, 1872. Coming immediately to America, he made his noviceship at Florissant, Mo., studied there and at Woodstock, Maryland, and taught as a scholastic at St. Mary's College, Kansas. He made his theology at Louvain in his native land, and was ordained there September 8, 1885. As a priest he taught at St. Mary's, Kansas, at Creighton University, the University of Detroit, and Loyola University, Chicago, and was pastor for some time of the Belgian parish of St. Berchmans in Chicago. He was active until the early part of the present winter, when he was forced to inactivity by the cancer which caused his death. The golden jubilee of his religious life would have been celebrated on the coming feast of St. Joseph.

He had spent in all about seventeen years at Omaha, for he had been stationed three times at Creighton since his first going there in the eighties. He was closely identified with the history and development of the University, and is affectionately remembered by his pupils of two generations.

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ALONG THE HISTORIC ILLINOIS

(Continued from July, 1922)

What occurred along the Illinois river between Easter Sunday of 1675 and the first days in May, 1677, no man knows, but at the latter time another Jesuit missionary, the renowned Claude Jean Allouez, came by direction of his superior as the successor to Father Marquette, and was the dominating personality of Illinois and the lake region for a dozen years thereafter. Thanks to Father Allouez we are able again to take up the historical thread of the Illinois and follow its course to more settled times.

Father Allouez was one of the greatest of the Jesuit Indian missionaries. Indeed, he is frequently spoken of as the Francis Xavier of the American missions. It was said of him that "no distance was too great, no danger too threatening to make him desist from his pursuit of the souls of the red men," and "he is credited with having instructed during his apostolic career 100,000 natives, 10,000 of whom he baptized."¹

REV. CLAUDE JEAN ALLOUEZ, S. J.

Allouez was born at St. Didier in France, June 6, 1622, and was 17 years old when he entered the novitiate of the Society of Jesus at Toulouse. There and at Billom and Rodez he made his studies. At age 36 he set out for Canada, sailing on the same ship with d'Argenson, who had been made governor of New France.² Like almost all the

¹ Campbell, *Pioneer Priests of North America*, Vol. 3, p. 164.

² *Ib.*, p. 147.

other missionaries he was first engaged at posts along the St. Lawrence. In 1660 he was superior at Three Rivers, and while at that post was named Vicar-General of the Northwest, an appointment which was perhaps the first act of the ecclesiastical organization of the Western country. From 1664 to 1676 Father Allouez made incredible journeys over lake Superior and through the territory that afterwards became Wisconsin and Michigan, but by that date had constituted DePere, in what is now Wisconsin, his chief mission. His activities from this date are well summarized by Father Campbell, as follows:

“De Pere was the center of Father Allouez’s work until the news came that Marquette had succumbed to the labor entailed by his journey down the Mississippi, and had died after attempting to inaugurate a mission among the Illinois. ‘A successor was needed,’ says the ‘Relation,’ ‘no less zealous than Marquette,’ and Allouez was ordered to the front. It was at the close of October, 1676, that he set out with two men to go to the country assigned to him, and which he already knew, but the winter was early that year, and they were compelled to go into a camp until the ice was strong enough to bear them. It was not until the month of February that he was able to resume his journey, and then, says he, ‘the mode of navigation was very unusual. Instead of putting the canoe in the water, we placed it on the ice, over which the wind, which was in our favor, and a sail, made it go as on water’—the first example of ‘ice-boating’ that, as far as we know, appears in American history. On the eighteenth of March, the eve of St. Joseph’s day, he found himself on the shores of Lake Michigan, and, of course, he gave it the name of the saint. He notes that it was a bitter cold day, the wind was high, the ice formed on the paddles, and the canoe was nearly crushed between the shore ice and the cakes that were driven in by the gale.

On the next day he found the famous ‘pitch rock’ which he said gave them material for caulking the canoe and sealing his letters. The exact locality of this rock has been identified by Dr. Hobbs of the University of Wisconsin, as being in Whitefish Bay, a few miles north of Milwaukee. It rises slightly above the water, and in it there are many cavities filled with a semi-fluid, tar-like bitumen.

He journeyed seventy-six leagues over the lake before he reached the Illinois country, where he was received most hospitably. Eighty Indians came out to meet him. At their head was the chief, holding a firebrand in one hand, and in the other a calumet, tricked out with feathers. Advancing about thirty steps in front of his braves, he made one of the characteristic Indian speeches and conducted the missionary to the wigwam that had been made ready for him.

He arrived at Kaskaskia on the twenty-seventh, where he had been the year before. It was the largest of the Illinois villages, and consisted of three hundred and fifty-one cabins, all ranged along the river bank. It was an unhealthy spot, but was well adapted to give the people a chance to see an approaching enemy. He did not stop with

them long, however, for this expedition was only to prospect in order to determine the most advantageous place for the central mission. He returned again in 1678, and during his absence the Iroquois had made their appearance, but had been put to flight by the watchful Illinois. There Allouez passed the remaining years of his life. He wrote much about his mission; always graphically and interestingly, and one reads with the greatest delight the account of the events that occurred there, his description of the country, the habits of the people. He remained eleven years in this apostolic field, and on the night of August 27-28, 1689, near what is now Niles, Michigan, on St. Joseph's River, among the Miamies, he died. He was sixty-seven years old, and he is credited with having instructed during his apostolic career 100,000 natives, 10,000 of whom he baptized. He had earned his name as the second Xavier."³

Dr. Alvord pays a fine tribute to Father Allouez. He says:

"Marquette's successor in the Illinois mission, Father Claude Jean Allouez, S. J., played an important role in the establishment of the white man in the west. For twenty-four years his figure was a familiar one wherever new missions were to be established or maintained. His first duties called him to Lake Superior, almost unknown at the time; and his correspondence proves him to have been a keen and sympathetic observer of his environment. He soon came in contact with the Illinois, who visited his mission, and his pen wrote the earliest account of the Indians who have given their name to the state. In 1669 Father Allouez was transferred to the mission at Sault Ste. Marie and shortly afterwards visited the Indians at Green Bay and along the upper Fox. He may have been the first Frenchman to stand on the banks of a river discharging its water into the Gulf of Mexico. 'Heedless of fatigue or hunger, cold or heat, he traveled over snow and ice, swollen streams or dangerous rapids, seeking distant Indian villages, counting it all joy if by any means he could win a few savages for a heavenly future.' So a modern writer describes the life of this man.

After Marquette's death Allouez visited the Illinois mission once or twice and was there when he learned of the approach of La Salle, whose well-known suspicious and masterful character caused the missionary to retire. In 1684 it is recorded that he delivered to Tonti the governor's summons to Quebec, and in 1686, he was once more attending to his duties on the Illinois river without molestation from Tonti. In 1689 this devoted servant of the cross died at the Miami village on St. Joseph river.⁴

The first experience of Father Allouez in Illinois is most interesting, and may appropriately be related here, even if it did not occur on the main channel of the Illinois. The reception of the Indians above spoken of is here alluded to, and is best described in Father Allouez's own words:

³ *Ib.*, p. 162, *et. seq.*

⁴ Alvord, *The Illinois Country*, pp. 102-103.

“The captain came about 30 steps to meet me, carrying in one hand a firebrand and in the other a Calumet adorned with feathers. Approaching me, he placed it in my mouth and himself lighted the tobacco, which obliged me to make a pretense of smoking it. Then he made me come into his Cabin, and having given me the place of honor, he spoke to me as follows:

‘My Father, have pity on me; suffer me to return with thee, to bear thee company and take thee into my village. The meeting I have had today with thee will prove fatal to me if I do not use it to my advantage. Thou bearest to us the gospel and the prayer. If I lose the opportunity of listening to thee, I shall be punished by the loss of my nephews, whom thou seest in so great number; without doubt they will be defeated by our enemies. Let us embark, then, in company, that I may profit by thy coming into our land.’⁵

Father Allouez was no stranger to the Illinois Indians. He had in his extremely wide range of travel met them and learned much of their characteristics and conduct as early as 1666, when he wrote of them in his journal of his voyage to the Outaouac (Ottawa) country. What he says of the Illinois family of the Algonquins is very interesting. It is also interesting that he gives us two variations of the spelling of the Indian designation of these savages, viz., *Ilimouec* and *Alimouek*.

His description follows:

The Ilimouec speak Algonquin, but a very different dialect from those of all the other tribes. I understand them only slightly, because I have talked with them only a very little. They do not live in these regions, their country being more than sixty leagues hence toward the south, beyond a great river—which, as well as I can conjecture, empties into the sea somewhere near Virginia. These people are hunters and warriors, using bows and arrows, rarely muskets, and never canoes. They used to be a populous nation, divided into ten large villages; but now they are reduced to two, continual wars with the Nadouessi on one side and the Iroquois on the other having well-nigh exterminated them.

They acknowledge many spirits to whom they offer sacrifice. They practise a kind of dance, quite peculiar to themselves, which they call ‘the dance of the tobacco-pipe.’ It is executed thus: they prepare a great pipe, which they deck with plumes, and put in the middle of the room, with a sort of veneration. One of the company rises, begins to dance, and then yields his place to another, and this one to a third; and thus they dance in succession, one after another, and not together. One would take this dance for a pantomime ballet; and it is executed to the beating of a drum. The performer makes war in rhythmic time, preparing his arms, attiring himself, running, discovering the

⁵ Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 60, quoted in Quaipe, *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, p. 29, et. seq.

foe, raising the cry, slaying the enemy, removing his scalp, and returning home with a song of victory, and all with an astonishing exactness, promptitude and agility. After they have all danced, one after another, around the pipe, it is taken and offered to the chief man in the whole assembly, for him to smoke; then to another, and so in succession to all. This ceremony resembles in its significance the French custom of drinking, several out of the same glass; but, in addition, the pipe is left in the keeping of the most honored man, as a sacred trust, and a sure pledge of the peace and union that will ever subsist among them as long as it shall remain in that person's hands.

Of all the spirits to whom they offer sacrifice, they honor with a very special worship one who is pre-eminent above the others, as they maintain, because he is the maker of all things. Such a passionate desire have they to see him that they keep long fasts to that end, hoping that by this means God will be induced to appear to them in their sleep; and if they chance to see Him, they deem themselves happy, and assured of a long life.

All the nations of the south have this same wish to see God, which, without doubt, greatly facilitates their conversion; for it only remains to teach them how they must serve Him in order to see Him and be blessed.

I have proclaimed the name of Jesus Christ here to eighty people of this nation, and they have carried it and published it with approbation to the whole country of the south; consequently I can say that this mission is the one where I have labored the least and accomplished the most. They honor our Lord among themselves in their own way, putting His image, which I have given them, in the most honored place on the occasion of any important feast, while the master of the banquet addresses it as follows: 'In Thy honor, O Man-God, do we hold this feast; to Thee do we offer these viands.'

I confess that the fairest field for the Gospel appears to me to be yonder. Had I had leisure and opportunity, I would have pushed on to their country, to see with my own eyes all the good things there of which they tell me.

I find all those with whom I have mingled affable and humane; and it is said that whenever they meet a stranger they give a cry of joy, caress him, and show him every possible evidence of affection. I have baptized but one child of this nation. The seeds of the Faith which I have sown in their souls will bear fruit when it pleases the Master of the vine to gather it. Their country is warm, and they raise two crops of Indian corn a year. There are rattlesnakes there, which cause many deaths among them, as they do not know the antidote. They hold medicines in high esteem, offering sacrifice to them as to great spirits. They have no forests in their country, but vast prairies instead, where oxen, cows, deer, bears, and other animals feed in great numbers.'⁸

⁸ Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, Vols. 50 and 51, quoted in Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, p. 130, et. seq.

These statements made by Father Allouez make it easy to understand why he met with such enthusiasm on the part of the savages. We can appreciate how the "eighty people" to whom Allouez had "proclaimed the name of Jesus Christ" at the Mission of La Pointe, and who had "carried it and published it with approbation to the whole country of the south" would rejoice at again seeing their black robed friend. In like manner we can understand the satisfaction which Father Allouez felt in coming to the Illinois mission, in view of his declaration, "I confess that the fairest field for the Gospel appears to me to be yonder (that is, in Illinois). Had I leisure and opportunity I would have pushed on to their country to see with my own eyes all the good things there of which they tell me."

We have noted the reception of the new missionary on the Lake Front, at what is now the foot of Madison Street, then the mouth of the Chicago river (additional reason, besides the landing at the same place of Marquette, for counting this a hallowed spot), and are able to follow him to the site of the mission of the Immaculate Conception, of which he is now the head.

Arriving on the grounds, April 27, 1677, he enters into possession of the identical cabin occupied by Father Marquette, his saintly predecessor. After a few days' preparations he signalizes his coming by the great missionary ceremonial described in his own language, "to take possession of these tribes in the name of Jesus Christ on the 3rd day of May (1677), the feast of the Holy Cross, I erected in the midst of the town a cross 35 feet high, chanting the *Vexila Regis* in the presence of a great number of Illinois of all tribes, of whom I can say in truth that they did not take Jesus crucified for a folly nor for a scandal. On the contrary, they witnessed the ceremony with great respect and heard all on the mystery with admiration. The children even wanted to kiss the Cross through devotion, and the old earnestly commended me to place it well so that it could not fall."

Thus Father Allouez begun his missionary work amongst the Illinois, which he continued as resident and visiting missionary and vicar-general of the Bishop of Quebec for eleven years. He was not a man to neglect any portion of his jurisdiction, and in the performance of his duties as Vicar-General he traveled about extensively, giving his special attention to the Miami tribes, who, in his day, centered around the St. Joseph River, and visiting and caring also for the Pottawatomi, who began to gather in the region, near the southern end of Lake Michigan.

¹ Shea, *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi*, p. 77.

Three years after the coming of Father Allouez Robert Cavalier Sieur de La Salle and his party passed down the Illinois River, touching at the Kaskaskia village, the site of the mission of the Immaculate Conception, on the first day of January, 1680. During the next ten years the intrepid explorer passed that way several times, and in the romantic recitals of these journeys reference will be found to the sturdy missionary who, whether through choice or fear, as intimated by some (a quite unlikely supposition), did not meet La Salle, but continued to exercise his missionary faculties and functions until the time of his death.

The story of La Salle and his relation to the Illinois River is a very interesting one, which will be duly related, but, due to the fact that the civil regime of La Salle extended beyond the period of both Allouez and his successor, Rev. Sebastien Rale, S. J., the La Salle story will be postponed until after we have told that of Father Rale.

Like all the other missionaries Allouez wore out his life in the mission field, and came to his death on August 27, 1689, in the midst of the Miami Indians, at their village near what is now South Bend, Indiana.⁸

We are fortunate in having preserved to the present day some relics of the first two great missionaries, Marquette and Allouez. Of the saintly Marquette some of his sacred bones repose in a suitable reliquary in Marquette College, Milwaukee, and some of them still lie buried in the tomb under the monument at St. Ignace. Of Father Allouez there is still preserved an ostensorium, presented by Nicholas Perrot in 1686, and frequently used by the great missionary.

REV. SEBASTIEN RALE, S. J.

We next learn of the activities along the Illinois from the letter of Father Sebastien Rale, S. J., who succeeded Father Allouez.

Father Rale was the missionary of the Abnakis, located in what became Maine. He arrived in Quebec from Rochelle, France, on October 13, 1689, and in a short time was assigned to the Abnakis, who then had a village within three miles of Quebec. "When I had remained nearly two years with the Abnakis," says Father Rale, "I was recalled by my superiors. They had assigned me to the mission of the Illinois, who had just lost their missionary. I then went to Quebec, whence, after I had devoted three months to studying

⁸ Readers will be interested in the paper of William Stetson Merrill on Allouez, published in the July, 1922, number of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, p. 59, *et. seq.*

the Algonkin language, I set out on the 13th of August in a canoe for the land of the Illinois." Father Rale describes his journey at considerable length, and tells in detail of the different tribes of Indians he met on his way. He especially dwells upon the Michabou tribe, or the tribe of the "Great Hare," a tribe holding one of the most ludicrous religious delusions known amongst savages. Finally the writer describes his entry into Illinois, and his work in the Illinois missions:

"After forty days of travel I entered the river of the Illinois [in the spring of 1692], and, after voyaging fifty leagues, I came to their first Village, which had three hundred cabins, all of them with four or five fires. One fire is always for two families. They have eleven Villages belonging to their tribe. On the day after my arrival, I was invited by the principal chief to a grand repast, which he was giving to the most important men of the Tribe. He had ordered several dogs to be killed; such a feast is considered among the Savages a magnificent feast; therefore it is called 'the feast of the Captains.' The ceremonies that are observed are the same among all these Tribes. It is usual at this sort of feast for the Savages to deliberate upon their most important affairs,—as, for instance, when there is question either of undertaking war against their neighbors, or of terminating it by propositions of peace.

When all the guests had arrived they took their places all about the cabin, seating themselves either on the bare ground or on the mats. Then the Chief arose and began his address. I confess to you that I admired his flow of language, the justness and force of the arguments that he presented, the eloquent turn he gave to them, and the choice and nicety of the expressions with which he adorned his speech. I fully believe that, if I had written down what this Savage said to us, offhand and without preparation, you would readily acknowledge that the most able Europeans could scarcely, after much thought and study, compose an address that would be more forceful and better arranged.

When the speech was finished, two Savages, who performed the duty of stewards, distributed dishes to the whole company, and each dish served for two guests; while eating, they conversed together on indifferent matters; and when they had finished their repast they withdrew,—carrying away, according to their custom, what remained on their dishes.

The Illinois do not give those feasts that are customary among other Savage Tribes, at which a person is obliged to eat all that has been given him, even should he burst. When any one is present at such a feast and is unable to observe this ridiculous rule, he applies to one of the guests whom he knows to have a better appetite, and says to him: 'My brother, take pity on me; I am a dead man if thou

* Father Rale's name has been spelled variously as Râle, Rale, Ralles, Rasle and Rasles. In his *Pioneer Priests* Father Campbell uses Rale, but in his latest work *The Jesuits* he uses Rasles.

do not give me life. Eat what I have left, and I will make thee a present of something.' This is their only way out of their perplexity.

The Illinois are covered only around the waist, otherwise they go entirely nude; many panels with all sorts of figures, which they mark upon the body in an ineffaceable manner, take with them the place of garments. It is only when they make visits, or when they are present at Church, that they wrap themselves in a cloak of dressed skin in the summer-time, and in the winter season in a dressed skin with the hair left on, that they may keep warm. They adorn the head with feathers of many colors, of which they make garlands and crowns, which they arrange very becomingly; above all things, they are careful to paint the face with different colors, but especially with vermillion. They wear collars and earrings made of little stones, which they cut like precious stones; some are blue, some red, and some white as alabaster; to these must be added a flat piece of porcelain which finishes the collar. The Illinois are persuaded that these grotesque ornaments add grace to their appearance, and win for them respect.

When the Illinois are not engaged in war or in hunting, their time is spent either in games, or at feasts, or in dancing. They have two kinds of dances; some are a sign of rejoicing, and to these they invite the most distinguished women and young girls; others are a token of their sadness at the death of the most important men of their Tribe. It is by these dances that they profess to honor the deceased, and to wipe away the tears of his relatives. All of them are entitled to have the death of their near relatives bewailed in this manner, provided that they make presents for this purpose. The dances last a longer or shorter time according to the price and value of the presents,—which, at the end of the dance, are distributed to the dancers. It is not their custom to bury their dead; they wrap them in skins, and hang them by the feet and head to the tops of trees.

When the men are not at games, feasts or dances, they remain quiet on their mats, and spend their times either in sleeping or in making bows, arrows, calumets, and other articles of that sort. As for the women, they work from morning until evening like slaves. It is they who cultivate the land and plant the Indian corn, in summer; and, as soon as winter begins, they are employed in making mats, dressing skins, and in many other kinds of work,—for their first care is to supply the cabin with everything that is necessary.

Among all the Tribes of Canada, there is not one that lives in so great abundance of everything as do the Illinois. Their rivers are covered with swans, bustards, ducks and teal. We can hardly travel a league without meeting a prodigious multitude of Turkeys, which go in troops, sometimes to the number of 200. They are larger than those that are seen in France. I had the curiosity to weigh one of them, and it weighed thirty-six livres. They have a sort of hairy beard at the neck, which is half a foot long.

Bears and deer are found there in great numbers; there are also found countless numbers of oxen, and of roebucks; there is no year when they do not kill more than a thousand roebucks, and more than two thousand oxen; as far as the eye can reach, are seen from four

to five thousand oxen grazing on the prairies. They have a hump on the back, and the head is extremely large. Their hair, except that on the head, is curly and soft, like wool; their flesh is strong in its natural state, and is so light that, even if it be eaten wholly raw, it causes no indigestion. When they have killed an ox that seems to them too lean, they are satisfied to take its tongue and go in search of one that is more fat.

Arrows are the principal weapons that they use in war and in hunting. These arrows are barbed at the tip with a stone, sharpened and cut in the shape of a serpent's tongue; if knives are lacking, they use arrows also for flaying the animals which they kill. They are so adroit in bending the bow that they scarcely ever miss their aim; and they do this with such quickness that they will have discharged a hundred arrows sooner than another person can reload his gun.

They take little trouble to make nets suitable for catching fish in the rivers, because the abundance of all kinds of animals, which they find for their subsistence renders them somewhat indifferent to fish. However, when they take a fancy to have some, they enter a canoe with their bows and arrows; they stand up that they may better discover the fish, and as soon as they see one they pierce it with an arrow.

Among the Illinois the only way of acquiring public esteem and regard is, as among other Savages, to gain the reputation of a skillful hunter, and, still further, of a good warrior; it is chiefly in this latter that they make their merit consist, and it is this which they call being truly a man. They are so eager for this glory that we see them undertake journeys of four hundred leagues through the midst of forests in order to capture a slave, or to take off the scalp of a man whom they have killed. They count as nothing the hardships and the long fasting that they must undergo, especially when they are drawing near the country of the enemy; for then they no longer dare to hunt, for fear that the animals, being only wounded, may escape with the arrow in the body, and warn their enemy to put himself in a posture of defense. For their manner of making war, as among all the Savages, is to surprise their enemies; therefore they send out scouts to observe the number and movements of the enemy, and to see if they are on their guard. According to the report that is brought to them, they either lie in ambush, or make a foray on the cabins, war-club in hand; and they are sure to kill some of their foes before the latter can even think of defending themselves.

The war-club is made of a deer's horn or of wood, shaped like a cutlass, with a large ball at the end. They hold the war-club in one hand, and a knife in the other. As soon as they have dealt a blow at the head of their enemy, they make on it a circular cut with a knife, and take off the scalp with surprising quickness.

When a savage returns to his own country laden with many scalps, he is received with great honor; but he is at the height of his glory when he takes prisoners and brings them home alive. As soon as he arrives, all the people of the village meet together, and range themselves on both sides of the way where the prisoners must pass. This

reception is very cruel; some tear out the prisoners' nails, others cut off their fingers or ears; still others load them with blows from clubs.

After this first welcome, the old men assemble in order to consider whether they shall grant life to their prisoners, or give orders for their death. When there is any dead man to be resuscitated, that is to say, if any one of their warriors has been killed, and they think it a duty to replace him in his cabin,—they give to this cabin one of their prisoners, who takes the place of the deceased; and this is what they call 'resuscitating the dead.'

When the prisoner has been condemned to death, they immediately set up in the ground a large stake, to which they fasten him by both hands; they cause the death song to be chanted, and—all the Savages being seated around the stake, at the distance of a few steps—there is kindled a large fire, in which they make their hatchets, gun-barrels, and other iron tools red-hot. Then they come, one after another, and apply these red-hot irons to the different parts of his body; some of them burn him with live brands; some mangle the body with their knives; others cut off a piece of the flesh already roasted, and eat it in his presence; some are seen filling his wounds with powder and rubbing it over his whole body, after which they set it on fire. In fine, each one torments him according to his own caprice; and this continues for four or five hours, and sometimes even during two or three days. The more sharp and piercing are the cries which the violence of these torments make him utter, so much the more is the spectacle pleasing and diverting to these barbarians. It was the Iroquois who invented this frightful manner of death, and it is only by the law of retaliation that the Illinois, in their turn, treat these Iroquois prisoners with an equal cruelty.

What we understand by the word *Christianity* is known among the Savages only by the name of *Prayer*. Thus, when I tell you in the continuation of this letter that such a savage Tribe has embraced Prayer, you must understand that it has become Christian, or that it is about to become so. There would be much less difficulty in converting the Illinois, if Prayer permitted them to practice Polygamy; they acknowledge that prayer is good, and they are delighted to have it taught to their wives and children; but, when we speak of it to them for themselves, we realize how difficult it is to fix their natural inconstancy, and to persuade them to have only one wife and to have her always.

At the hour when we assemble, morning and evening, to pray, all persons repair to the Chapel. Even the greatest Jugglers—that is to say, the greatest enemies to Religion—send their children to be instructed and baptized. This is the greatest advantage that we have at first among the Savages, and of which we are most certain,—for, of the great number of children whom we baptize, no year passes that many do not die before they have attained the use of reason; and, as for the adults, the greater part are so devoted and attached to Prayer that they would suffer the most cruel death rather than abandon it.

It is fortunate for the Illinois that they are very far distant from Quebec; for brandy cannot be taken to them, as is done elsewhere.

Among the Savages this liquor is the greatest obstacle to Christianity, and is the source of countless crimes. It is known that they buy it in order to plunge themselves into the most furious intoxication; the disturbances and the melancholy deaths which are witnessed every day ought indeed to outweigh the profit that is made in the trade of so fatal a liquor.

I had remained two years with the Illinois, when I was recalled, that I might devote the remainder of my days to the Abnakis Tribe.¹⁰

The foregoing very remarkable document has been very little noticed, due to the fact that Father Rale spent but a short time in the Illinois missions, and was for thirty years in the Abnakis missions in Maine, where he was brutally massacred by the English soldiers, sent out from Boston. Most of what has been said about Father Rale therefore has had to do with his labors in Maine and his tragic death. All this has been set out interestingly in Father Campbell's *Pioneer Priests of North America*.¹¹ Another reason that this letter of Father Rale's has not been given much attention arises from the fact that it appears in the midst of a long letter written by Father Rale to his brother describing his missionary career, nearly all of which was spent in Maine, and the searcher could easily overlook the few pages in the body of the letter that dealt with Illinois. This letter, it is to be noticed, was written in 1723, under the date of October 12, thirty years after Father Rale's labors in Illinois had closed, and only one year before his untimely death. There can be no possible doubt, however, but that he was in possession of his full mental faculties and had an excellent recollection at the time the letter was written. This is evidenced, if evidence were needed, by his presentation in the same letter of a translation of the hymn "*O Salutaris Hostia*" in four different Indian languages. In view of the fact that so few have access to publications containing these letters, these verses are here reproduced:

IN THE ABNAKIS TONGUE

Kighist wi-nuanurwinns
 Spem kik papili go ii damek
 Nemiani wi kwidan ghabenk
 Taha saii grihine.

¹⁰ Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 67, p. 163, *et. seq.*

¹¹ Father Campbell's sketch of Father Rale will be found in Vol. 3 of *Pioneer Priests of North America*, beginning at page 265.

IN THE ALGONKIN TONGUE

Kwerais Jesus tegousenam
 Nera weul ka stisian
 Ka rio vilighe miang
 Vas mama vik umong.

IN THE HURON TONGUE

Jesous outeo etti x'ichie
 Outo etti skiaalichi-axe
 J chierche axerawensta
 D'aotierti xeata-wein.

IN THE ILLINOIS TONGUE

Pekiziane manet we
 Piaro nile hi Nanghi
 Keninama wi o uKangha
 Mero winang ousiang hi.¹²

No other writer, unless it be Charlevoix, has given nearly as good an account of the Indians in the Illinois country as is contained in this letter of Father Rale's. It possesses an advantage over Charlevoix's account, due to the fact that Father Rale was amongst these Indians for a much longer period than was Charlevoix.

The temptation to follow Father Rale to his permanent destination in Maine, and recount some of the stirring incidents of his really notable life, is strong, but as this has been so well done by Father Campbell we here refrain.

Sebastien Rale was born January 4, 1657, in the little town of Portalier, which is situated on the Doubs, a tributary of the Saone. He arrived at Quebec in October, 1689, and, as has been seen, came into the Illinois missions in 1692. He was, therefore, but thirty-five years old when he came to the Illinois missions. He came to his death at the age of fifty-two, and the reader will be interested in the account of this remarkable martyrdom as given by Father Campbell:

"In the beginning of August, 1724, one thousand one hundred men, partly English, partly Indian, started out to perform the final act of the tragedy. Counting the expedition of nineteen years before, this was the fifth attempt to capture him. The English historians cut the number of men in this raid down to two hundred and eight, but Charlevoix and de la Chasse vouch for the first figures. There were two commanders this time: Harmon and Moulton.

¹² Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 67.

On the nineteenth of August they left Fort Richmond on the Kennebec; and in the following day they arrived at Teeconnet. Leaving there forty men to guard the nineteen whale boats, which had transported the party thus far, they began their march to the village on the twenty-first, diverting themselves on the way by shooting at two Indian women, killing one and taking the other prisoner. The murdered squaw was the wife of Bomaseen, the chief who had been assiduous in his efforts to conciliate the English and who was supposed to have been converted at Boston when his religious difficulties were discussed over a tankard. The murder would soon matter little for Bomaseen, for he himself and his son-in-law were killed two days afterwards at Narantsouac.

About midday the invaders were near the village. Like Indians they crept cautiously through the woods, and at three o'clock stood before the silent wigwams. Not a soul was seen. Then at a given signal every musket blazed and a shower of bullets pierced the thin walls of the houses. Hutchison denies this, and says the Indians fired first, though he admits that the settlement was surrounded before any one was aware of what was happening. There were only fifty warriors in the place, and they seized their weapons and rushed out to cover the flight of their women and children, who were already making a mad rush for the river. Where was Rale? He was already facing the foe. He was the only one whom the English wanted, and he knew that if he presented himself it would divert their attention from the fugitives. He was not mistaken. A loud shout greeted his appearance. The man they had so often failed to find was before them. Every musket covered him, and he fell riddled with bullets at the foot of the cross which he had planted in the centre of the village. They crushed in his skull with hatchets again and again, filled his mouth and eyes with filth, tore off his scalp, which they sold afterwards at Boston, and stripped his body of his soutane, which they wanted as a trophy, but as it was too ragged to keep they flung it back on the corpse. Meantime the fire was kept up on the fleeing Indians, who were endeavoring to reach the shelter of the woods on the other shore. Some were slain before they reached the river, others were killed in midstream, and others before they reached the protecting forest.

When the slaughter was over, the soldiers retraced their steps to the village and began the work of plunder. They desecrated the Blessed Sacrament, and defiled the vessels of the altar. Then putting the torch to the buildings, they withdrew in the glare of the conflagration. They were laden with booty, and Hutchison tells us that the New England Puritan thought it no sacrilege to take the plate from an idolatrous Roman Catholic Church; which he supposes 'was all the profaneness offered to the sacred vessels.' There were also some expressions of zeal against idolatry in breaking the crucifixes and other imagery which were found there. So died Sebastian Rale. The 'Inflammatory friar' would flare up no more.

The raiders were received with enthusiasm at Boston. There is little doubt that the missionary's white scalp was put up at auction and duly knocked down to the highest bidder. Harmon received a

promotion, and Moulton was awarded the thanks of a grateful country. The Rev. Dr. Colman, of Boston, declared that Rale's death was 'the singular work of God. The officers and soldiers piously put far from themselves the honor of it; and he who was the father of the war, the ghostly father of those perfidious savages like Balaam, the son of Beos, was slain among the enemy after vain attempts to curse us.' The Reverend Doctor would have been a good warchief.^{'13}

It is regrettable that we have very little information regarding what actually occurred along the Illinois while Father Rale was in charge of the mission. He was recognized as the missionary of the Abnakis, and was consequently held in Illinois but a short time, when he was returned to the former. He himself has told us that the Illinois Indians responded gratifyingly to the efforts of Father Marquette and Father Allouez, and that they were singularly devout, remarking that, in the absence of the missionary, the tribes, under the leadership of a patriarch, selected for the purpose, held prayer meetings regularly and recited in common the prayers prescribed by the missionary.

Father Rale was a historic figure. He became the pawn of war, being a Frenchman and associated with the French, he was considered an enemy of the English, and in the conflict between the two races Father Rale paid the penalty of his citizenry with his life. He is entitled to rank not only with the martyrs and most exalted of the missionaries, but on account of his persecution and martyrdom, with the fathers of the country.

The successor of Father Rale was Rev. James Gravier, S. J., whose story is almost as interesting as that of his illustrious predecessors, and will be narrated in due season in these studies.

JOSEPH J. THOMPSON.

Chicago.

¹³ Campbell, *Pioneer Priests of North America*, Vol. 3, p. 301, *et. seq.*

DISTORTING AMERICAN HISTORY

On the Fourth of July a quiet, orderly, well attended celebration of the day was held in Lincoln Park, Springfield, Illinois, within a short distance of the Lincoln Monument. The Declaration of Independence was read in full with fine effect by Mrs. Eva Batterton. A fine address on the Revolutionary fathers was delivered by Hon. A. H. Bell of Carlinville, Illinois, followed by an address by former Congressman James M. Graham of Springfield.

The *Illinois State Register* deemed Mr. Graham's address of sufficient importance to publish it in full, calling attention to it in the following editorial:

"If as the Hon. James M. Graham sets forth in an interesting and instructive address printed in detail in today's issues of the *State Register*, British propaganda is creeping insidiously into histories used as textbooks in our public schools, the wrong should be righted and repetition of it prevented.

"When a man of Mr. Graham's standing, character and ability, charges 'falsification of American history' and backs his charges with a very startling array of comprehensive data, his utterances demand more than passing attention.

"Any tampering with facts for any purpose by any group or groups can only be accepted as a direct insult to American intelligence and American ideals of right and justice.

"The *State Register* calls special attention today to Mr. Graham's address because its importance justifies it.

"Such utterances justify more than public study and interest. They justify official study and action.

"If the charges are true, failure to correct the wrong either by revision of the vitiated histories or barring them from the schools, cannot but become a menace to that peace which all sincere friends of America and Great Britain believe should be maintained between these two great nations."

Today is a good time to take an inventory of our national affairs. I think you'll admit that one of our most valuable assets is our children and that another one is the high ideals established by the brave, wise and farseeing men of the Revolutionary period.

The adoption of the Declaration of Independence marked the beginning of a new era in history. That great document announced principles which must have been astounding to a world governed by monarchs and aristocrats through standing armies. How they must have been shocked when they learned that a new government was founded in the New World on the principle that all men are created equal, and that governments should rest—not on military power or the divine right of Kings, but on the consent of the people.

The Declaration of Independence is indeed a marvelous production from whatever angle we view it. Whether we consider its rhetoric, its morals, its philosophy, or its politics, it is alike admirable.

But its adoption was a direct challenge to the greatest military power then in the world—not to a mere holiday tilt, but to mortal combat.

The signers of the Declaration knew this, they knew the risk they ran, but they solemnly pledged themselves to support it with their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor.

They were well aware of what failure meant. At the time of the signing, one of them, thinking of colonial discord, remarked: "Now we are bound to hang together," and Franklin wittily and truthfully responded: "Yes, if we don't hang together, we will be sure to hang separately."

They knew they were guilty of treason under English law, and they knew equally well that the penalty for that offense was the cruelest and most brutal form of death, but this knowledge did not deter them.

We know how bravely, how successfully they kept their pledge, how, after years of endurance and travail, they won their fight, and gave to their descendants, and to the world, an inheritance valuable beyond description, a free government resting on a Constitution which secures the blessing of orderly liberty.

This inheritance is not a gift to be wasted or squandered. It is a Trust to be enjoyed, to be carefully conserved, and handed down from generation to generation in perpetuity.

I sometimes think we are not as careful of that great Trust as we should be. We ought to be constantly mindful of our duty and our responsibility in regard to it, but I doubt if we are. It is not enough to just talk about Liberty and admire it and congratulate ourselves over it on the 4th of July. We should guard it jealously all the time. No one has spoken more wisely than he who told us that eternal vigilance is the price we must pay for liberty.

A good way—perhaps the best way—to do this is to keep before our minds, and more particularly before the minds of our children the splendid example of the men who adopted and fought to maintain the great Declaration and of those who framed our great charter of liberty, the Constitution. They were men of great ability, of high character, of sublime courage and of intense patriotism. What better way to train our youth in good citizenship than to keep constantly before them such high ideals? "As a man thinketh, so is he." The name of Washington appeals to all that is best in us, the memory of Nathan Hale is still an inspiration to every American boy.

It would be difficult to praise beyond their deserts the men who achieved our independence and founded the Republic, or to give our

children a too exalted notion of their character and their achievement. It is our constant duty to teach them to respect and admire these men who risked all for Independence, and placed government of the people by the people on an enduring basis.

But while we have been drifting along in supposed security, the wells of history from which our children draw their information were being poisoned, and we hardly gave the matter a thought.

We feel so strong as a nation that we are careless, even contemptuous, of danger. But the very strength of the strong man may prove to be a real weakness, because in the pride of his great strength he thinks caution unnecessary. By such a course he invites disaster.

And that is the course we have been pursuing. Instead of furnishing school histories which would teach our children respect and admiration for the Revolutionary heroes, we have in common use a dozen different text books used in tens of thousands of the public and private schools of America which both directly and indirectly attack the patriotism and undermine the character of the great men whose deeds we came to praise, whose memories we are here to honor.

This must seem so incredible to those who have not noticed its progress that I ask you to be patient while I state the case, and however ridiculous or incredible it may seem to you now, I ask you to please withhold judgment till I have presented a few, and only a few, of the facts.

To make the situation clearer, let me give a brief resume by way of background.

In the stirring times which preceded Lexington and Concord, there were but few men who, like Samuel Adams, James Otis and Patrick Henry, declared themselves in favor of complete independence. Even after Lexington and Concord, probably not much over half the population favored a war for independence. The timid and the cautious ones feared to enter such a struggle, while the Loyalists or Tories were bitterly opposed to it under any circumstances.

After the victory at Saratoga, and the surrender of Burgoyne, Washington could have secured any terms of peace he desired if only he would recognize the sovereignty of the British crown, but he refused to consider anything short of absolute independence.

The assistance of France undoubtedly turned the scale in our favor, resulted in ultimate success and absolute independence.

But after the victory was won, troubles began to multiply. It was easy to hang together while there was danger of hanging separately, but after the victory it was not so easy. Local jealousies and

bickerings appeared. There was little real union, and no real government, for there was no central authority. "A rope of sand" they called the Confederation. It lacked coherence. Few thought it could hold together long.

For over seven years—from the close of the war to the adoption of the Constitution—the case seemed desperate. It appeared inevitable that the colonies would soon be back under English domination. English statesmen were of that opinion. They held that the victory of the colonies was due to British international difficulties, and that the separation was only temporary. And there was, apparently, grounds for this belief.

But events favored the young Republic and baffled Britain. After five years of practical chaos, a convention was called, with Washington as chairman, to consider the situation. By September, 1787, this convention agreed on a proposed Constitution. That Constitution was submitted to the legislatures of the various states, and in March, 1789, after a delay of a year and a half, a sufficient number of states had ratified it to secure its adoption.

It was fortunate for America that during this time Great Britain was too much occupied with European affairs to attempt the re-conquest of her former colonies. In 1789 came the French Revolution. Out of it came Napoleon and the Napoleonic wars, so that England was constantly engaged in European warfare till the new government had time to find itself. But Britain had not given up hope.

Of course she has now no hope of absorbing the United States through conquest, but that she still has hope of absorbing it by other methods, seems too plain to be doubted.

Who among you will say that Cecil Rhodes, the South African diamond king, was a mere dreamer of dreams? Through superior ability, he became one of the richest men in the world, and by his unscrupulous genius he added an empire to the British domain. Few of his plans failed. When such a man deliberately regards a project as feasible, when he plans for its accomplishment, and invests his money in it, is not his scheme at least worthy of some attention?

In Basil Williams' life of Rhodes you will find a sketch of his proposed will from which I quote as follows:

"Directed: That a secret society should be endowed with the following objects: The extension of British rule throughout the world * * * The colonization by British subjects in all lands where means of livelihood are attainable by labor, energy and enterprise, and especially the occupation, by British settlers, of the entire continent of

Africa; the Holy Land; the Valley of the Euphrates; the Islands of Cyprus and Candia; the whole of South America; the islands of the Pacific not heretofore possessed by Great Britain; the whole of the Malay Archipelago; the seaboard of China and Japan; the ultimate recovery of the United States of America as an integral part of the British Empire.”¹

A rather ambitious scheme, isn't it? And please notice that much of it has been realized already. The Holy Land, the Valley of the Euphrates, all of the islands of the Pacific south of the Equator, Candia and Cyprus and most of the Continent of Africa are now under British control.

TREASON TO AMERICAN TRADITION

I hold in my hand a pamphlet written by Mr. Charles Grant Miller of New York City, entitled “Treason to American Tradition,” in which, with great ability, he exposes the insidious attempt now being made to de-Americanize our children. I shall have more to say of Mr. Miller later on. Just now I quote him on this Rhodes propaganda. He says:

“It has been publicly stated that among the twenty-three rules of guidance of the Cecil Rhodes secret society, one provides for the re-writing of American school histories, and another provides for the gradual restriction of our public school education,” and he adds that two known members of this Rhodes secret society are high in the councils of our two most heavily financed American educational foundations.²

He created a large “Foundation” by which he provided for two free perpetual scholarships from each state of the Union—or 96 at a time from all the states—at Oxford university. He assigns to each student the sum of three hundred pounds, or about \$1,500.00 per year, for three years. Applicants for these scholarships must have done at least two years' successful work in some college of high standing, and must show marked ability, but they are to be chosen mainly on account of their force of character, and their capacity for leadership. Clearly they are intended to be leaven which, he hoped, would, in time, leaven the whole lump.

There are now about four hundred of these Rhodes graduates in the United States. They have organized an Alumni association, and Mr. Miller says this association recently adopted a resolution endors-

¹ Basil Williams' *Life of Cecil Rhodes*, page 50.

² Charles Grant Miller in the *New York American*, May 21, 1922.

ing and approving the propaganda plan for anglicizing histories in American schools.

Mr. Rhodes wisely concluded that in the future hundreds, and even thousands of the ablest and most aggressive young Americans, educated at Oxford, thoroughly imbued with British ideas and British sympathies, having a natural sense of gratitude for favors received, would in due time exert great influence in favor of their benefactor's ambition. It already seems that he was not mistaken.

Now take another instance. Who is bold enough to assert that Andrew Carnegie was a mere dreamer of dreams? Mr. Carnegie was a very successful, far-seeing man. He was a Briton through and through all his life. Mr. Carnegie established a number of Foundations. At least one of them—the College Professors' Pension Fund—seems to be on a line parallel with the Rhodes scholarships. I think it is fair to conclude that he indicated the purpose of this Foundation in a paragraph of his book, "Triumphant Democracy." I quote only the point I wish to emphasize:

"Let men say what they will, I say that as sure as the sun in the heavens once shone on Britons and Americans united, so surely is it one morning to rise, shine upon and greet again the re-united States, the British American Union."³

Am I justified in concluding that a subject treated so seriously by men like Cecil Rhodes and Andrew Carnegie cannot be disposed of by a laugh or a wave of the hand? They were both very practical men—farseeing men—and they both make their purpose very clear. If we are not in accord with that purpose we should become active in an endeavor to frustrate it—to prevent its accomplishment.

I now come to a still later, a more serious and a more concrete example of this impudent propaganda intended to de-Americanize our boys and girls.

Every reader of the newspapers is aware that Lord Northcliffe, the owner and publisher of the London Times and a score of other British newspapers, was in charge of British propaganda in the United States during the world war, ably assisted by an efficient lieutenant, Sir Gilbert Parker. They literally filled the American mails with books and pamphlets carefully prepared to inflame the public mind against Germany and in favor of Great Britain.

Just three years ago today—on July 4, 1919—a special American edition of the Times was issued for circulation here and sent to nearly all American newspapers. It contained a lengthy editorial, giving in

³ *Triumphant Democracy*, p. 549.

great detail the method by which British propaganda was to be carried on in this country. I quote from it as follows:

"Efficient propaganda, carried out by those trained in the arts of creating public good-will and of swaying public opinion towards a definite purpose . . . is now needed—urgently needed. To make a beginning: Efficiently organized propaganda should mobilize the press, the church, the stage and the cinema; press into service the whole educational systems of both countries and root the spirit of good will in the homes, the universities, public and high schools and primary schools. It should also provide for subsidizing the best men to write books and articles on special subjects, to be published in cheap editions or distributed free to classes interested.

"Authoritative opinion upon current contraversial topics should be prepared for both the daily press and for magazines; histories and textbooks upon literature should be revised. New books should be added, particularly in the primary schools. Hundreds of exchange university scholarships should be provided. Local societies should be formed in every center to foster British-American good will in close co-operation with an administrative committee. Important articles should be broken up into mouthfuls for popular consumption and booklets, cards, pamphlets, etc., distributed through organized channels to the public.

"Advertising space should be taken in the press, on the boardings and in the street cars for steadily presenting terse, easily read and remembered mind-compelling phrases and easily grasped cartoons that the public may subconsciously absorb the fundamentals of a complete mutual understanding."⁴

Please note carefully some of the agencies they would use—the press, the church, the stage, the moving pictures and the whole educational systems of both countries, but we hear of nothing being done in any country but our own. They would subsidize the best men to write books which should be published in cheap editions or distributed free. They would revise our school histories and add new ones, particularly in the primary grades. They would advertise in the newspapers, in the street cars and on the billboards; they would keep up these various schemes till the public—that is, the American public—subconsciously

⁴Special American Edition of the *London Times*, July 4, 1919.

The weekly edition of the *London Times* of date August 20, 1920, stated that "the educational movement to increase and cement the friendship between the two countries . . . is making great strides in America." And as to the motion picture part of the propaganda, it said: "At present, some thirty thousand schools and churches are now exhibiting these educational films."

absorbed the fundamentals of a complete understanding. In other words, till the American public was thoroughly anglicized. And please don't forget this—they borrowed the money from us to pay for de-nationalizing us. If they succeed it will not be necessary to repay it.

In this same issue of the *Times* there was an article by a de-natured American novelist—who now resides in England—Mr. Owen Wister—in which he said, among other things:

“A movement to correct the school books in the United States has been started. It will go on.”⁵

When Mr. Wister speaks of correcting the school books he means, of course, anglicizing them.

These propagandists say they would press the pulpit, the stage and the moving pictures into service to convince us that we should forget—and teach our children to forget—about our national origin and about the Revolutionary war and the war of 1812 and the Civil war and other things of that sort and, like nice, obliging people, line up behind Mr. John Bull's plan for world dominion.

In some sections of the country, notably in the east, it seems as if they have secured control of a portion of the press. They have a good foothold on the stage and they have made a good start towards capturing the “movies.”

Five American film companies have already been absorbed by British capital and many of the films they produce are distributed free of charge. The *London Times* of September 12, last, stated that 30,000 propaganda films are now being shown in the United States and Sir Gilbert Parker has recently been—perhaps still is—in California supervising the preparation of more propaganda films.^{5a}

But while you may be willing to believe that they can buy advertising space in the newspapers and in the street cars and on the billboards, and that they may get pro-British plays on the stage or pro-British films in the movies, yet you are inclined to think they would not dare to tamper with the histories our children study in the schools. And possibly you think that even if they were bold enough to try that, they could get no American to do such dirty work for them.

If you entertain such a belief, it is, unfortunately, without good foundation. However it has been accomplished, I regret to say there

⁵ From a signed communication in the *London Times*, Special American Edition, July 4, 1919. See also Wister's book *A Square Deal, or The Ancient Grudge*.

^{5a} The nature and extent of Sir Gilbert Parker's activities are pretty fully explained by himself in an article in *Harper's Magazine* for March, 1918.

seem to be many Americans who are ready and willing to do this foul and unnatural work.

Again, just a year before the publication of this special edition of the London Times—on July 4, 1918—there was a celebration of the day held in London, at which one of America's leading book publishers, Mr. George Haven Putnam, was present and made an address. Mr. Putnam is the great grandson of General Israel Putnam of Revolutionary fame, but on the occasion referred to, as well as on several other occasions, he apologized for the conduct of his gallant patriot ancestor.

In his address Mr. Putnam said the Fourth of July was a good day to place on record a new declaration. "I want to see," he said, "not a Declaration of Independence, but a Declaration of Interdependence . . . an acknowledgment that the two peoples belong together." In the course of his remarks he also said this: "England's relation to its big offspring might be expressed in the line of the poet Pope:

"We first endure, then pity, then embrace."⁶

Now, Major Putnam is a scholarly man and expresses his thoughts accurately. When he quotes he understands what he quotes, and chooses just the quotation he wants.

Let us examine his quotation from Pope a little closer. He quoted only one line of a sentence which consists of four lines. The whole sentence runs thus:

"Vice is a monster of such frightful mien
That to be hated needs but to be seen.
Yet seen too oft, familiar with its face,
We first endure, then pity, then embrace."

⁶ All the addresses made at this meeting are published in a pamphlet entitled "A Declaration of Interdependence," published in the Library of War Literature, at 511 Fifth Avenue, New York, in 1918, with an introduction by Mr. Putnam.

The quotations given in the address are from pages twenty, twenty-one and twenty-two of this pamphlet. In this address, among other things, he said: "It is now in order to admit that the Loyalists (Tories) had a fair cause to defend, and it was not to be wondered at that many men of the more conservative way of thinking should have convinced themselves that the cause of good government for the Colonies would be better served by maintaining the Royal authority and by improving the Royal methods than by breaking away into the all dubious possibilities of independence." Mr. Putnam's whole address is from a strongly pro-British point of view. It gives one the impression that he considered the United States as a mere convenience or annex to maintain the glory of Great Britain.

Thus you see when he applies the last line to the relations between England and the United States and says, "We first endure, then pity, then embrace," "we" stands for England, and the thing which "we" endure, pity and embrace—that is, "vice"—stands for the United States. "Out of the fullness of the heart, the mouth speaketh."

He also told his English audience that since 1775, American school textbooks and histories "present unhistorical, partisan and often distorted views of our relations with England," and he added, "textbooks are now being prepared which will present a juster historical account of the events from 1775 to 1783, 1812 to 1815, and 1861 to 1865. The writers of these revised—I might say reformed—textbooks will present conclusions in line with those to be found in the history of the American Revolution by Sir George Otto Trevelyan."

He also told them that "The writers of these corrected histories will make clear to the school boys of the coming generation that the American colonies were not fighting against England," "they were fighting," he says, "against a Prussian king."

He also told his audience how he had recently been in Halifax and that he had to apologize to the descendants of some of the men who had in 1776 been forced out of Boston through the illiberal policy of his great grandfather and his associates.

Oh, how I wish someone who has a speaking relation with the spirit world could give us "Old Put's" opinion of his degenerate descendant. I fear we could not trust Conan Doyle to report it accurately.

But after all, Mr. Putnam is only one of a class, and we have the class to deal with. It is quite a large class, too. Aristocracy and the concomitants of royalty seem to make an irresistible appeal to the members of this class, and they appear to feel that the facts in our histories which are disagreeable to the British aristocracy should be modified or entirely eliminated. Then when they visit London, they will not be annoyed by nasty reminders of their ancestors' activities.

I mention Mr. Putnam and Owen Wister merely as examples. They are by no means the only ones who seem to think that the Revolutionary war was a mistake, and that the fathers of the Republic were a rather sorry lot, whom we should try to forget.

If this doctrine were preached only to grown folks, it would be bad enough, but printing it in the school histories from which our boys and girls get their impressions of the men who won our independence and framed our government is a crime of the worst character. It is both weak and wicked to deprive our children of the fine ideals they have in our national heroes—in Samuel Adams, in Prescott, in Warren, in Wayne, and Stark, and Otis; in Patrick Henry,

Richard Henry Lee, Paul Jones and John Barry, not to mention such Titans as Hancock, Franklin, Jefferson, and Washington.

What do you really think of putting into the hands of our children, histories which ignore or belittle these men to whom we owe so much—to whom the world owes so much; whose example we want our children to emulate; whose memory we want them to revere?

Here is a partial list of such books as have come to my knowledge, which are being used as textbooks and as reference books in the public and private schools of the country, books which either ignore, or besmirch and belittle our national heroes. Nearly all of them have been published since this propaganda invasion became pronounced. Whether there is a logical connection between these facts, I am not prepared to say, but the coincidence is certainly very suggestive:

A History of the United States for Schools, by McLaughlin and Van Tyne, published in 1919.

History of the American People, by Willis Mason West.

American History for Grades (two books), by Everett Barnes, published in 1920.

Our United States History, by Charles J. Gitteau, published in 1919.

The American Revolution in Our School Textbooks, by Charles Altschul.

School History of the United States, by John P. O'Hara, published in 1919.

The Book of American Wars, by Helen Nicolay, published in 1918.

Introduction to Burke's Speech on Conciliation, by C. H. Ward.

Muzzey's History of the United States, 1917.

School History of the United States, by Albert Bushnell Hart, published in 1920.

There are a number of other books more or less objectionable, but these will suffice to illustrate the points I wish to make.

I cannot, of course, take the time to go into details as to each one of them. Some are just bad and others are worse. Some of them sin by what they say; others sin by what they omit. They all sin in one way or the other, most of them in both ways.

To illustrate, I mention at the outset the textbook in use in the Springfield high school—Professor Hart's "History of the United States." The edition in use here was published in 1917 and is not so objectionable as a later revised edition, published in 1920. The excuse for a new edition so soon is that the World war made it necessary to bring the book down to date, but the World war did not make it neces-

sary to go back to the Revolutionary period to revise former chapters and add new ones, as the author does in the latest edition.

In dealing with the causes of the Revolutionary war, Professor Hart says:

“To this day, it is not easy to see just why the Colonists felt so dissatisfied.”⁷

What a misleading statement to make to boys and girls!

I submit that it is quite easy to see why they were dissatisfied, and any American who cannot see it is hardly qualified to write a school history for our children to study.

Here is a brief statement of reasons given in a school history which was in common use many years ago, and which I used both as a student and as a teacher.

It contains only 292 pages, whereas Professor Hart's book has 652 pages and the 1920 edition is still larger. If this small book has room for a list of reasons, surely Hart's book ought to have room for one. I quote from Barnes' *History*, published in 1877:

“England treated the settlers as an inferior class of people. Her intention was to make and keep the Colonies dependent. The laws were all framed to favor the English manufacturer and merchant at the expense of the Colonist. The navigation acts compelled the American farmer to send all his products across the ocean to England and to buy all his goods in British markets. American manufactures were prohibited. Iron works were denounced as common nuisances. William Pitt, the friend of America, declared that “she had no right to manufacture even a nail for a horseshoe.

“The exportation of hats from one colony to another was prohibited and no hatter could have more than two apprentices.

“The people of the Carolinas were forbidden to cut down the pine trees in their vast forests in order to convert the wood into staves or the juice into turpentine or tar for commercial purposes. All commerce, even that between the different colonies, had to be carried in British ships with British captains and British crews.”⁸

⁷ Hart. Chapter 8, page 126. On the same page, Professor Hart says the Colonists were so free they could not understand why they should be under any restraint. In this he differs very radically with Thomas Jefferson, who wrote the Declaration, and John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman and Robert Livingston, who, with Jefferson, constituted the committee that reported the Declaration to the Continental Congress. According to Professor Hart, they had very little foundation for the indictment they drew in the Declaration of Independence. Shall the pupil believe Hart or Jefferson and the Committee?

⁸ Barnes' *Brief History*, Edition of 1877, pages 101, 102, and note. This

And this is only a partial list of reasons.

The Declaration of Independence is printed in Hart's book, and he admits it states twenty-seven reasons for dissatisfaction, but there are none so blind as those who will not see.

Describing the battle of Lexington, Hart says: "It is uncertain just how the fight began,"⁹ and he contents himself by giving only the version of an English officer who was present.

Now there is no uncertainty at all about how the fight began. Lossing, Hildreth, Bancroft, Higginson, Fiske, Hawthorne, and indeed every American writer worthy of credit, who has dealt with the subject, are in no doubt as to how the fight began. They all agree that it began when Major Pitcairn, the British officer in command—enraged at the minute men because they refused to disperse—drew his pistol, aimed it, fired it, and then ordered his men to fire, which most of them did, killing eight Americans.

Why does Mr. Hart throw a cloud of doubt around an important fact about which there is no doubt? Why leave our school children in doubt as to where the blame lay when there is no doubt the blame was on the British.

In speaking of the author of the Declaration of Independence, Mr. Hart slyly informs the boys and girls that "some Federalists looked on Thomas Jefferson as an atheist, a liar, and a demagogue."¹⁰ He adds a half-hearted explanation which does not explain at all, and so the boys and girls will go out into the world with this catch-phrase clinging like a burr in their memory, suggesting to them that the author of the Declaration of Independence was "an atheist, a liar, and a demagogue." Can the student be blamed if this statement causes him to doubt the sincerity of Jefferson, and of the men who were closely associated with him in the great work? And what particular benefit can Professor Hart think he is conferring on the children by the insertion of this piece of malicious political gossip.

history was written by Professor Steele and published by A. S. Barnes & Co., and must be carefully distinguished from the Barnes' *History* referred to hereafter, written by Everett Barnes.

⁹ Hart's *New American History*, page 135.

¹⁰ Hart's *History of the United States Revised*, Section 150.

McLaughlin and Van Tyne tell of a toast drunk by certain voters in Connecticut: "Thomas Jefferson; may he receive from his fellow-citizens the reward of his merit—a halter."

While this may have happened, it is at best only an evidence of the bitterness of his political opponents, and is certainly out of place in a school textbook.

On the question of who was to blame for the starting of the war, another book which, if not in use as a textbook, in Springfield, is used as a reference book—Muzzey's *History of the United States*—tells the children:

"There are differences of opinion as to who was responsible on the American side for the outbreak of the war, some scholars hold that the Revolution was 'the work of an unscrupulous and desperate minority headed by firebrands like Patrick Henry and Sam Adams.'"¹¹

I wonder who are these "some scholars?" I wonder how many of them there are? Just two would meet his description of "some scholars." I wonder what weight their opinion is entitled to? Mr. Muzzey does not tell us what his own opinion is. He leaves the children to decide whether they will accept the insinuation as to what "some scholars" think.

Do you suppose that he thought he was helping to build up good citizenship by suggesting to the boys and girls who study his book, that the Revolution was "the work of an unscrupulous and desperate minority," and that Patrick Henry and Sam Adams were mere firebrands, fit leaders for "an unscrupulous and desperate minority?" What good could the author think he was doing to the children, or to the country, by publishing such a statement—such a false and misleading statement—in a school history?

Are you willing to have our children think of Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry as firebrands? Why do you suppose this man wants to chill the patriotic enthusiasm of American boys and girls by suggesting that we owe the republic to an unscrupulous and desperate minority led by firebrands?

But Hart and Muzzey are by no means the worst offenders. West, McLaughlin and Van Tyne, Everett Barnes and Gitteau and Ward outdo them in the attempt to besmire the Revolutionary heroes and belaud the English.

Without attempting to give details, I quote some of the descriptions which these authors give of the brave, liberty-loving men of '76.

Barnes tells us that John Hancock was a smuggler, and that his father had been a smuggler.¹²

¹¹ Muzzey's *History*, Edition 1917, page 128.

McLaughlin & Van Tyne call Patrick Henry "A gay, unprosperous and hitherto unknown country lawyer" (page 141). Why "gay"? Is it to belittle? And is it impossible to be patriotic and "unprosperous?"

¹² Barnes' *History*, part 2, page 9.

McLaughlin and Van Tyne describe John Hancock as "the prince of smugglers," page 140.

He says: "The Second Continental Congress was a scene of petty bickerings and schemings. . . . There was a scramble for honors and for offices. In that congress were selfish, unworthy, short-sighted, narrow-minded, office-seeking, and office-trading plotters, just as there have been in every congress ever since."¹³

What a fine characterization to place before our children of the men who adopted and signed the great Declaration, who risked everything, even their lives, for the public good; who accomplished the greatest task set before a legislative body. The congress included such men as John Hancock, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Samuel Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Charles Carroll of Carrollton; Matthew Thornton, Roger Sherman, George Taylor, Richard Henry Lee, Edward Rutledge, Thomas Lynch, Button Gwinnett, and the others whose names you heard read a while ago as the signers of the Declaration.

Is the man who cannot see the wonderful courage and foresight and achievements of this great body, and who can only see the blots and blurs and the shortcomings of its members—is such a man fit to write the history of their time and of the country they established, and especially the history to be used in the schools of the country? Are we justified in tolerating the use of histories which make a specialty of lying, both by omission and commission—of slandering the men to whom we owe so much?

I particularly despise this man Everett Barnes, because I cannot help contrasting him and his work with the writer of the Barnes' Brief History, of which I have spoken and with which I was so familiar, both as student and as teacher—a history which was so full of the spirit of real Americanism. I can hardly ward off a suggestion which persists in coming to me that the popularity of the old Barnes has been used as a cloak to camouflage the propaganda of the new and spurious Barnes.

This perverter of the facts of American history ignores Nathan Hale altogether. He seems not to have heard of Faneuil Hall, the cradle of American liberty. At least he does not mention it. He ignores the Boston massacre; he ignores the quartering of British troops upon the people; he consigns Ethan Allen and Anthony Wayne to oblivion, but he takes a page to defend Benedict Arnold, the traitor, whom he tells the children congress had not treated fairly.¹⁴

¹³ Barnes' *History*, part 2, page 34.

¹⁴ See also McLaughlin & Van Tyne, page 187. They say of Arnold, "All his bravery and energy in the American cause had been ignored by the American Congress." This is untrue, and would seem to be intended as an apology for Arnold's treason.

Surely if this book is not intended as propaganda it is a very remarkable coincidence that it complies so fully with the outline laid down by Lord Northcliffe and endorsed by Mr. Putnam, Owen Wister and other denatured Americans.

Take, for instance, his description of the battle of Bunker Hill, one of the most dramatic scenes in history. This battle offers to the historian an opportunity to tell American boys and girls a thrilling story of bravery and determination without departing in the least from the exact truth.

There were a thousand Americans without military experience or training—peasants, the British general contemptuously called them—armed with such weapons as they happened to possess, not over one in ten having a bayonet on his gun, and with less than three rounds of ammunition. They worked hard through the hot June night and through the hotter day till mid-afternoon digging trenches. They were without food to eat, and without water to drink, for the enemy's artillery had destroyed the casks in which their drinking water was stored.

These untrained citizens were attacked by an army of the best-drilled, best-armed, best-equipped troops in the world, fresh from many European victories. And the attacking force outnumbered the Colonials about three to one. Twice these brave minute men smashed the lines of the attacking army and drove them back in utter rout. Their ammunition being exhausted, they were forced to retire before the third attack. But they retired in such good order that they were not even pursued. The number of the enemy's casualties exceeded the entire number of the Colonial forces.

What a subject for a narrative that would cause the nerves of the normal American boy to tingle, that would fill both boys and girls with pride to be the citizens of a government founded by such men.

But all that this degenerate American historian can get out of the situation is to tell our children that "British pluck triumphed,"¹⁵ a statement which can properly be characterized only by the use of "a short and ugly word."

With these alleged historians, the Boston Massacre was merely "justifiable resistance to a mob."^{15a} The Boston Tea Party, which was

¹⁵ McLaughlin and Van Tyne, Vol. I, page 1.

^{15a} Miss Nicolay calls the Boston Massacre "a mere street brawl begun by citizens who annoyed some passing soldiers," page 82.

Professor Hart devotes four lines to it and says the name "Boston Massacre" applied to the unfortunate affair is "unsuitable," and this in the face of the fact

a magnificent defiance of tyranny, they daintily describe as "an act of violence."¹⁶

Major Andre, the British spy, they describe as "a fine young man for whom everyone felt pity,"¹⁷ but Nathan Hale, the American, they consign to oblivion by not mentioning at all. If the student wishes to learn anything about this young hero who, with the noose around his neck, proudly declared that he regretted he had only one life to lose for his country, he will have to look somewhere else for it.

The war of 1812 is dealt with in the same spirit. If the Americans won a sea fight—as they always did when the conditions were nearly equal—some accident in their favor accounts for the victory, but whoever won or lost, there are always encomiums for "British pluck."

Jackson's victory at New Orleans is belittled thus: "All that it was necessary for the Americans to do, to win a victory, was to hold their ground." For that, it seems they deserved no praise, anyway, they get none. But the British! Ah, that's different. Here's the way their praises are sung: "The invaders came on like British soldiers, and like British soldiers they came again and again."¹⁸ Could you blame a boy who admires courage, if after reading these things in his school history, he said to himself, "Gee, I wish I was an Englishman instead of being an American."

And then as if to belittle the American victory and rob the victors of all glory, the historian falsely says: "It was a wasted battle, a needless victory." Not a word about the facts of the battle, facts which would fill a healthy boy with joy and pride that he, too, is an American.

You are probably familiar with the facts. You no doubt recall that at the battle of New Orleans, the British General had ten thousand of the finest troops in Europe, the conquerors of Napoleon's legions, perfectly equipped, perfectly confident, and led by experienced officers.

These 10,000 were opposed by twenty-two hundred Americans, of whom only eight hundred were regulars, the other fourteen hundred

that armed troops fired on unarmed civilians, killing five of them. Barnes does not mention it at all.

¹⁶ McLaughlin and Van Tyne, Vol. 1, page 149.

¹⁷ Morris' *Elementary History*.

Miss Nicolay gives a page and a half to Andre whom she describes as "young and gifted, a man of great personal charm," etc. She gives four and a half lines to Nathan Hale.

¹⁸ Barnes' *Grammar Grades*, Section 328. Also Barnes' *History*, page 261, describing the battle of New Orleans.

being untrained, untried militia. But the British ranks literally withered away before the deadly fire of these American boys who won a most wonderful and a most decisive victory. But that fact must be kept out of the "reformed" school books.

You will also recall that Lord Northcliffe's propaganda plan included the subsidizing—that is the hiring, or bribing—of the best men to write books, to revise our old histories and to write new ones. Let me remind you that most of these unhistoric histories have been published since Northcliffe's plan was promulgated.

In the book of American wars, which is used mostly as a reference work, Miss Nicolay describes James Otis as "the great incendiary from New England";¹⁹ James Warren as "the man who invented the committees of correspondence who were spreading discontent over the land,"²⁰ and Patrick Henry as "a slovenly, fiddle-playing incompetent, with an odd gift of oratory."²¹ Franklin, she sends to the scrap heap thus: "But everyone knew Franklin, his was the eccentricity of genius."²²

She tells American boys—to whom she dedicates her book—"It seems impossible to believe that eight hundred British regulars could have been routed so easy by untrained farmers. Presumably," she says, "the soldiers were obeying orders not to rouse the country side."²³ Presumably, too, Miss Nicolay was thinking of a visit to London.

These writers all seem to have a peculiar aversion for John Hancock. They tell us Hancock was a smuggler, and his father was also a smuggler, and that smuggling was a crime, leaving the student to infer that John Hancock was a criminal. They tell us he stole away from Lexington across the fields in the early morning, as the British soldiers were coming, thus suggesting to the students that Hancock was also a coward. But General Gage did not regard Hancock as a coward. He regarded Hancock and Sam Adams as arch rebels. He offered to pardon everybody but these two. Is that why the de-natured historians delight in abusing them?

¹⁹ Miss Nicolay, page 74.

²⁰ *Ib.*

²¹ *Ib.*, page 75.

²² *Ib.*, page 75.

²³ After naming Samuel Adams, James Otis, James Warren, Benjamin Franklin and Patrick Henry, Miss Nicolay comments thus: "If the country had to choose between government by such a rabble and government from England, conservative and well-to-do Tories preferred the one three thousand miles away," page 75.

In truth, as you know, Hancock and Adams were men of great courage and bravery, and it is a shameful perversion of the truth of history to represent them otherwise.

What do you suppose is Mr. West's purpose in telling our school boys and girls that "most of the settlers were servants and a rather worthless lot, with the vices of an irresponsible, untrained, hopeless class. . . . Cheats and drunkards."²⁴ Or this: Democracy is the meanest and worst form of government."²⁵ Or this: "At the capture of Quebec, General Wolfe had only seven hundred Americans, whom he described as the dirtiest, most contemptible, cowardly, dogs. . . . such rascals as are an encumbrance to an army."²⁶

In all conscience, I ask, is this stuff put into the hands of American children with the intent to make them good, loyal, law-abiding citizens of the Republic, or is it intended to fill them with contempt for everything American, and to make them long for the time when they can become British subjects?

The real—the basic—justification for a system of free schools is, that general intelligence is necessary to preserve government of the people by the people. The state has as much right—even more right—to preserve its existence as the individual has, but if the state permits the teaching of false history to the children in its schools—history which is calculated to poison their minds against the state—then may not the state be fairly accused of trying to commit suicide?

I might go on quoting instances of bald misstatements, which appear to have been made deliberately, which can have no good effect, and which can hardly fail to have a bad effect on the minds of the young people who study them. You may take even Washington himself—whom the world recognizes as the soul of honor and patriotism—tell the children only of his weaknesses, emphasize them unduly, dwell on them with ridicule and with sneers; then slur over his virtues, admit that "some scholars" think he had good qualities, and from

²⁴ West's *History of the American People*," page 67.

²⁵ *Ib.*, page 72.

²⁶ *Ib.*, page 182.

West's *History* attributes mean and sordid motives to many—I might almost say, most—of the leaders of the Revolution: "George Washington had been refused a commission in the British army; Sam Adams' father had been ruined by a wise British veto of a proposed bank; the older Otis failed to get a judicial appointment he wanted; Hamilton was a briefless and penniless law student looking for troubled water to fish in," page 195.

Much of the matter in West's book reads like the fulminations of a "soap box" orator. It may have a fitting place somewhere, but its place is not in the hands of American school children.

such a distorted picture, the student would inevitably form a mean, or at best, a very indifferent, opinion of George Washington.

That is the course which many of these writers pursue. "British Liberty," "British Law," "British Pluck," are kept constantly before the student's mind, while things creditable to America are omitted or slurred, or belittled, or falsified.

But, you say, if the case is as bad as you make it appear, surely somebody would call public attention to it, something would be doing to counteract it.

As a matter of fact, public attention has been called to it, and is being called. New York and Boston and Philadelphia and other cities in the East have been giving it a great deal of attention. Mr. Charles Grant Miller, the author of the pamphlet I have referred to, has written much, and ably, about it, and many other well-informed and patriotic persons have called public attention to it.

Mr. Wallace McCamant, the president general of the Sons of the American Revolution, has spoken bravely on the subject in the public press, and the great order of which he is the head, at its last annual meeting, passed vigorous resolutions denouncing it, and President Harding has commended their good work.

In a letter to the New York American, President McCamant says among many other good things:

"I seek to inculcate no prejudice against Great Britain. I would have every school history make clear that George III has been dead for more than a hundred years.

"But I am in accord with Charles Grant Miller in his contention that our American histories should have an American background; that the story of the American revolution should be told with fidelity to the facts, with emphasis on the righteousness of our forefathers' cause and with colorful portrayal of the heroic achievements and the patient spirit of sacrifice, through which our political privileges were won.

"What think you of a school history which begins the story of the American revolution with this sentence:

" 'There is little use trying to learn whose fault it was how the war began, for, as we have seen such a long train of events led to disagreement between Engalnd and America, that we should have to go back and back to the very founding of the colonies. As in most quarrels, the blame is laid by each party on the other.' . . .

"Another author of a school history, in discussing taxation without representation, says:

“ ‘There was here an honest difference of opinion, and as neither party to the dispute would give way, a conflict was inevitable.’

“The man who has not found out who was right and who was wrong in the controversy which culminated at Lexington and Concord has certainly not been called of God to write American history.

“Shall we permit our children to be taught that the American Revolution was an unnecessary war, that after the lapse of a century there is doubt about who was right?

“One school history denounces the Boston Tea Party as a ‘lawless destruction of property,’ another as a ‘violent act viewed with great anger in England.’

“One history refers to John Hancock as a smuggler and the son of a smuggler. Except for a reference to the desire of the British authorities to capture and punish him there is no other reference in the book to this man who signed his name to the Declaration of Independence in letters so large that George III could read them without his spectacles.”²⁷

At the last national meeting of the Sons of the American Revolution, the following resolution was adopted:

“The Sons of the American Revolution, in national congress assembled, express their deep interest in the subject of textbooks on American history in use in our public schools. We protest against the use of any textbook which lauds the Tories and censures the Patriots, which maligns the memory of any of the great men of the Revolutionary period, or undervalues the service and sacrifices by which our national independence was won.

“Textbooks on American history should be written only by those who are in sympathy with the principles for which our forefathers fought. Every such history should adequately stress the story of the American Revolution, portray in colorful outline the heroic incidents of the struggle, and teach the priceless institutions which we inherit from our forefathers?”

Nor is this all. Protests against these textbooks were so loud and so frequent that Mr. Ettinger, superintendent of schools in New York city, appointed a committee of twenty-three school principals and teachers to examine the charges made against the histories in use in the schools there. This committee has been giving the matter very thorough consideration. The New York World of May 16th stated that they had concluded their work but would not give out the result till their report was printed in pamphlet form and ready for distribution. I dare say a letter to Dr. William L. Ettinger, superintendent

of schools, New York city, would bring further information about this committee's report, and possibly a copy of it.

The World correspondent said that Superintendent Ettinger did not deny that the books of West, McLaughlin & Van Tyne, Gitteau, Everett Barnes, Hart, Ward and a number of others, are among those which will be condemned and banned.

Is there any connection between the foreign propaganda I have referred to and this falsification of American history? Is Cecil Rhodes' secret society at work here? Is it getting help from the Rhodes graduates? Are the Carnegie Foundations doing their bit in an effort to bring about the morning when the sun "is to rise, shine upon, and greet again the Re-United States, the British American Union?"

Have these denatured histories any connection with Lord Northcliffe's plan to provide for subsidizing the best men to write books, to revise old histories, and to write new ones, especially for the primary grades?

I cannot say. I don't know; but if it is all a mere coincidence, it is a very striking one.

We are told it is very important that United States and Great Britain should live in peace and maintain cordial relations.

I cheerfully agree with that view. I believe that America wants to live in peace with Great Britain. War between the United States and Great Britain would be even a greater calamity than the late World war, but in my judgment this way of British propaganda is not the way to peace; it is rather the way to war.

I believe that any attempt to carry out the plans of Cecil Rhodes and Andrew Carnegie, and some de-natured Americans who are ashamed of their country and their ancestors, who appear to like the aristocratic form of English society better than the democratic form of American society—I say, any attempt by these to carry out such a purpose is a very sure way to interrupt peace between the two countries.

The American people are a big, broad, generous-minded, good-natured people. They act in the open, in good faith, and they give credit to others for doing likewise, but let no one forget that this is America, and when aroused our people are Americans through and through, and no nation, no race, can strengthen the bonds between us and it by attempting, through propaganda or intrigue, to swallow us, or to submerge our national consciousness.

We stand unalterably for that independence which the glorious men of '76 won for us. Woe to any nation that attempts to rob us of it! Shame to any American who would sap the foundations of it!

In spite of propaganda, or intrigue, or force, or treachery, we take our stand with Washington and Jefferson and Franklin and Hancock and Adams and the other heroes of that time; and here, within the shadow of the tomb of Lincoln, in this beautiful park which bears his honored name, we pledge our unswerving devotion to their memory, and our undying loyalty to the republic they bequeathed us.

Springfield, Illinois.

JAMES M. GRAHAM.

THE ILLINOIS PART OF THE DIOCESE OF VINCENNES

(Continued from July, 1922, Number)

REV. FRANCIS JOSEPH FISCHER

In a recent issue of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW a sketch was published of the life and labors of Rev. Francis Joseph Fischer, who spent some very active years in Chicago as Assistant Pastor of St. Mary's Church. With the data available at that time Father Fischer's career was traced to the Fall of 1848, when he left Madison, Indiana, and it was stated that all trace of the good priest was then lost. Since that time through the diligent efforts of Father Schwarz and the courtesy of Rev. Anthony Kiefer of Stringtown, Illinois, and Rev. P. J. Virnich, Rector at Ste. Marie, Illinois, we are enabled to trace Father Fischer to the time of his death.

The solution of the difficulty of following Father Fischer's career lies in the fact that he transferred from the diocese of Vincennes to the diocese of Chicago. He was received into the Chicago diocese on October 5, 1848, and was shortly thereafter placed in charge of the Piquet settlement of Alsations, in Jasper County, Illinois, which place still bears the name Ste. Marie (McGovern's Catholic Church in Chicago, Silver Jubilee of Archbishop Feehan, p. 91. This work also mentions Father Fischer on pages 113, 149, 150).

Rev. J. B. Chasse had visited the place from Vincennes in August, 1848, a few months before Father Fischer became resident pastor of the parish.

Under Father Fischer the first brick church at Ste. Marie was built. It was commenced in 1849, and blessed in 1850, and served its purpose until Easter Monday, 1891.

During the early years of this settlement Mt. Carmel, Bridgeport, Fairfield, Newton, Olney, St. Wendel, Stringtown, and at times also St. Francisville received spiritual attendance from Ste. Marie. The Catholics from Coles and Clay Counties used to bring their children to Ste. Marie for baptism. When the Ohio and Mississippi railroad was built Ste. Marie priests went all along the line to attend the religious needs of the Catholic workmen. (Virnich's account of Ste. Marie in an Atlas of Jasper County, Illinois.)

There are some very interesting notations on the Stringtown parish records. In 1850 Father Fischer wrote in the German language that

he had donated the statue of St. Joseph, the altar cards, and some other things for the altar, and that whilst the Bishop of Chicago paid \$4.85 for the station pictures, the Bishop of Vincennes gave an altar stone. He further noted that for his support the congregation paid him \$40.00 for the year 1850, and \$50.00 for the year 1853. In 1852 he blessed the cemetery and its large crucifix.

In 1855 Father Fischer removed to Waterloo, Illinois, where he remained until 1861, after which he returned to the place of his birth, Alsace.

In 1888 Rev. P. J. Virnich, present rector of Ste. Marie, Illinois, visited Alsace and called at the parochial residence of Father Fischer, but did not find him at home. He was an active pastor, however, and continued his ministrations until his death, which occurred in 1893.

Thus we have a brief outline of this good priest, who, by his zeal and diligence, endeared himself to so many Chicagoans of a very early day.

RT. REV. MSGR. JULIAN BENOIT, V. G.

When Bishop Bruté visited France in search of recruits for his diocese and came to Lyons in 1836, he was much surprised to meet a young man who offered him his services without being asked. It was the talented Benoit, a deacon and professor at the Grand Seminary. "You," the saintly Bishop Bruté told him, "are a spoiled child; you will never do for the missions in America; you are accustomed to all comforts; you have such a beautiful position, but in America, I can offer you nothing but corn bread and bacon, and not enough of that. There will be many a night when you will have no shelter, many a night when you will have no bed, many a day and night when you will have to be on horseback through the wilderness." Father Benoit merely answered, "Monseigneur, if you can do it, why cannot I? If you can make a sacrifice and do it for the love of God, why should not I, a young man, be able to do it?" "Well, then, come in the name of God," the holy bishop said, and he did come.

Having obtained his exeat he bade farewell to his parents in their mountain home at Septmoncel, diocese of St. Claude, where he was born October 17, 1808, and sailed to America.

He came to this country in 1836 and remained at first with the Sulpitians at Baltimore to study the English language and was ordained April 24, 1837.

Father Benoit's first charge was the Assumption parish at Evansville, Indiana, where he remained five months. He next spent a year

establishing missions in Perry County, Indiana, and then was sent to Chicago to assist Father O'Meara. As most of his time was devoted to the faithful at Lockport, Joliet and several other canal towns, it is probable that the Catholics of Chicago hardly knew him, for he seems unmentioned in the chronicles there.

After laboring on the Illinois missions from the fall of 1838 to May, 1839, he was called and sent back to Perry County.¹

Father Benoit on first coming here in 1837 was the first priest to reside in the county. It was at Derby, an old mission visited since 1823 by Father Elisha Durbin of Kentucky, and who in 1824 built St. Mary's log church (at Derby), the first Catholic church erected along the Ohio river in Indiana.²

That whole section of the county then went under the name of Rome, as given in Bishop Bruté's pen sketch map shown at p. 256, Vol. IV., of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW. The county in general was yet a primeval forest with panthers, catamounts and other wild animals roaming about. Here in the back country Father Benoit found Catholics, some of whom had not seen a priest for many years and whose children were wondering what a priest looked like.

His record of baptisms, all written in English began with October 22, 1837, and is still at hand.

When "at home" Father Benoit lodged in the church. He had no parsonage and if he had it would have been used only at intervals, for he was constantly forming new missions farther away from the church, even into the adjoining county. His principal missions from Derby were: Troy, St. John, Leopold, Mt. Pleasant, Fredonia and Leavenworth. He was at home everywhere with the pioneer settlers, and as poor as they were they made him partake of their frugal hospitality, he sharing in their "corn bread and bacon, and not enough of that," just as Bishop Bruté foretold in France. The panic of 1837 was raging. Money was scarce and the people had none to give. They lived scattered and far apart, and at times the poor missionary would get lost in the trackless forest where alone with his Indian pony he had to spend the night in the open. He quietly endured untold hardship and occasionally was in need of the bare necessities of life.

Probably Bishop Bruté, when hearing how he was being affected by the strenuous life in the wilderness here, thought it would be a relief for him to be sent awhile to Chicago.

¹ *History of the Catholic Church in Indiana*, pp. 190-193.

² *Bessonier's Reminiscences in Alerding's Hist. Dioc. Vin.*, pp. 499-494.

After his return from the Illinois mission in 1839 things were more comfortable in Perry County, in that he for once had his own home. During his absence Bishop Bruté had a small combination church and parsonage erected for him at Leopold near the center of Perry County, which had become the center of many missions. This church was always called "The Chapel." It was a two-story frame, 20 by 30 feet, having two rooms below for residence and the floor above for the chapel, with a very steep stairway outside to climb into it. People always dreaded that stairway, especially in wet weather or when covered by snow, for often some rolled down the stairs before they could reach the top.

From Leopold all missions now radiated and it became much easier to attend them. But Father Benoit did not remain long to enjoy those improvements.³

On April 16, 1840, he was removed to the small town of Fort Wayne, where he was destined for an eventful career lasting 45 years.⁴

All he had in the line of church property was an unfinished frame church, rudely built, not plastered, with rough boards for benches, and what was worse, a debt resting on it of \$4,307.

He was the only priest in northeastern Indiana with missions scattered over that vast territory where sick calls ranged up to 80 or more miles. He also preached in Indian villages through an interpreter.

As the labor was too great for one priest an assistant was sent him. His first school opened in 1845, taught by Sisters of Providence.

Continual immigration caused many changes; Fort Wayne became a large city and many new towns arose on all sides. In 1857 Fort Wayne became an Episcopal see and Father Benoit lived to see Catholicity flourishing with many churches and schools and religious and charitable institutions where one time he was the only priest.

Pope Leo XIII in 1883 conferred on him the honor and title of monsignor. Father Benoit had a kindly, genial disposition and was honored and loved by both clergy and people for his many charitable deeds. He devoted himself to the duties of his position of Vicar-general and pastor of the Cathedral with great zeal until November, 1884. Becoming afflicted with cancer of the throat he prepared for death with a deliberate spirit of resignation. "If Providence desires to take me by the throat," he jocosely remarked, "then God's will be done." He was cheerful and contented in knowing that death was

³ Information about Father Benoit's life was obtained from old pioneers of that section.

⁴ *History of the Catholic Church in Indiana*, pp. 193 to 211.

nigh and that he had time to prepare for it. He would not ask God to relieve him of it and the suffering he took as a welcome penance. When he must have suffered intense agony it was impossible to perceive it—he concealed his pain. As soon as he knew that he was fatally sick he received the last sacraments. He died peacefully and calmly on the eve of his patron saint's feast, January 26, 1885, aged 76 years, 3 months and 9 days. His remains lie at rest in the Fort Wayne Cathedral, where his epitaph on a slab in the floor shows the place.

It was his last request: "Bury me in the Cathedral, outside the sanctuary railing, that in death, as I was in life, I may be among the people whom I loved."

REV. HIPPOLYTE DUPONTAVICE

Father Dupontavice, who had charge of Joliet and other missions, was born in France in the year 1810. He was ordained a deacon before coming to America and arrived at Vincennes, Indiana, October 21, 1839. With him on the voyage were John Gueguen and Francis Joseph Fischer, both of whom were destined to serve on the Illinois missions.⁵

He was the first priest ordained by Bishop Hailandière, on November 30, 1839, and in December following was appointed pastor of Joliet, Illinois. He left Vincennes in a spring wagon covered with canvas, drawn by two horses, having for his companion the Rev. Maurice de St. Palais, who had been appointed pastor of Chicago. Dresden and Corktown were his missions in 1842,⁶ and Father Gueguen was with him at Joliet a year from 1840.⁷

Father Dupontavice labored in Illinois until 1844, when he was recalled and sent to St. Simon's, then a small parish at Washington, Daviess County,⁸ some nineteen miles east of Vincennes. He also visited St. Patrick's mission in the same county. The Catholics of Daviess County all liked him, for he was gay and lively, and was full of energy, and used it all for the welfare of his people.⁹

During his three years' stay at Washington he had been Superior of the Seminary at Vincennes, "but when Bishop Hailandière resigned

⁵ Alerding—*Hist. of Diocese of Vincennes*, pp. 488-491.

⁶ ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. 1, p. 337.

⁷ Alerding, p. 451.

⁸ Alerding p. 353.

⁹ Old Catholic newspaper clippings.

in 1847 and Bishop Bazin succeeded him Father Dupontavice declined to be Superior any longer."¹⁰ This led to Father St. Palais being called to Vincennes and made Vicar-General and Superior of the seminary.

Father Dupontavice became Rev. St. Palais' immediate successor as pastor of St. Michael's Church in Madison, Indiana, where he held charge for nearly twenty-seven years, up to his lamented death.¹¹

At North Madison, a suburb of Madison, he built a brick church in 1853 and with it began to exist and flourish St. Patrick's congregation, which he visited until 1875.¹² He procured the first Catholic cemetery for Madison and built on it a mortuary chapel.¹³

From 1848 to 1852 he was Vicar-General of the diocese and in 1849 was one of the two assistants when Bishop St. Palais was consecrated.

Father Dupontavice was the soul of every enterprise that tended to benefit religion; and being of a noble and generous disposition he became endeared to the hearts of all that came in contact with him. He was called to his eternal reward on May 27, 1874, aged 64 years.¹⁴

His funeral was attended by an immense crowd of people who went in procession to the cemetery at North Madison, where he was gently laid to rest in the mortuary chapel, which he himself had erected some years before.¹⁵

It is desired to go into the work of Father Dupontavice in Illinois more fully and for this purpose it is necessary to examine the archives of the churches at Joliet, Lockport and other points. The result of these investigations will appear in subsequent issues.

Chicago.

JOSEPH J. THOMPSON.

¹⁰ Alerding, p. 501.

¹¹ Alerding, p. 353.

¹² *Ib.*, p. 373.

¹³ *Ib.*, p. 353.

¹⁴ *Ib.*, p. 353.

¹⁵ I made a note in my *Alerding History* many years ago stating: "Concerning Father Dupontavice see 'An Apostolic Woman,' pp. 296 to 298."

I don't remember the nature of that reference and no longer have the book. Perhaps you have a copy or can easily obtain it at a library. Maybe you will find something worth while. The same book also gives an account of Bishop Bazin's death, pp. 298-305.

EDITOR—I do not find the book referred to by Father Schwarz. Will readers try to locate it?

POINTS IN ILLINOIS HISTORY

In the January number, 1922, we began the publication of a symposium dealing with several mooted questions on Illinois history.

The proposal for a study of the several questions propounded struck a popular chord, and the very ablest students of history in this part of the world responded immediately to the suggestion for a discussion.

The ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW is under renewed obligations to Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., and Rev. Lawrence J. Kenny, S. J., of the St. Louis University, for opening the discussion. In the July number a very able paper from the pen of Mr. Milo Milton Quaife, the noted historian of the Northwest, was published.

It had been the intention of Dr. Clarence Walworth Alvord, the editor in chief of the Centennial History of Illinois, and a leading authority on Mid-West history, to prepare a paper on the points raised, but instead Dr. Alvord writes as follows:

“Joseph J. Thompson, Esquire,
917 Ashland Block,
Chicago, Illinois.

My dear Mr. Thompson:

It was my intention to prepare an article for your ‘Symposium on Illinois History,’ but since reading my good friend, Doctor Quaife, on the subject, I do not find that I have anything to add. Quaife has gone at the subject in his usual careful manner and seems to have left very little ground for me to work over.

There is, in your Symposium, one point on which Mr. Quaife did not expand, and that is the movement of the Kaskaskia and Peoria tribes. In regard to this, I have had my say in my volume, THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY, and what I have said has already been discussed learnedly in your magazine. It seems to me that Father Kenny’s hypothesis is quite possible—in fact very probable—that the Kaskaskia stopped for some time on the Missouri side of the river before going to the village of Kaskaskia.

It has always been difficult for me to explain why there has been preserved so little information concerning the village of Kaskaskia in the first decade of the eighteenth century. If the Indians, as Father Kenny asserts, were on the Missouri side, it would account for this lack of information concerning a village, which did not exist. I do not, however, feel that this point has been established without the possibility of contradiction. Possibly, it never will be so established.

I have enjoyed your Symposium very much and am sorry that I cannot satisfy you with a longer exposition of my views, but your

symposium has already had the success that it deserves and a prolongation of the discussion would not be of value.

Sincerely yours,

C. W. ALVORD."

In order that readers may have a view of what another student of history has assembled touching some of the points raised, we are here reproducing a paper prepared by Edward Joseph Fortier.

In a future number we hope, with perhaps some further discussion on some of the points raised, to endeavor to state what questions have been determined by this discussion. In the meantime we present Mr. Fortier's paper.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TAMAROIS MISSION*

The time of the founding of Tamarois or Cahokia has been a disputed question, the date given varying from the time of LaSalle in 1683 to 1699.¹ Never has the exact date of the establishment of the mission been determined. The letters which follow prove that the event fell within the year 1699, sometime between March 28 and May 20.

It may be well, without going into too many details, to review the history of the Illinois missions before taking up the letters which help more particularly to determine the date of the Tamarois Mission. It is not necessary to give the history of the struggle between the Jesuits and the Seminary of Quebec as that has been done elsewhere,² but to speak of the struggle only in so far as it will help to clear up the matter in hand.

The care of the Illinois mission was first confided to Marquette and at his death it was committed to Father Allouez also a Jesuit. When he died exhausted by the great hardships he had undergone, Father Jacques Gravier, of the same society, was appointed Vicar General about 1690.

Evidently Gravier planned a mission among the Tamarois, for

* The very interesting symposium in the April, 1922, number of this REVIEW has made the publication of this article from the *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society* appropriate. It will be found in Publication No. 13, Illinois State Historical Library, p. 233 *et seq.*

¹ Peck, J. M., *Gazetteer of Illinois*, etc., 2d edition, Philadelphia, 1837, p. 85; Peck, L. C., *Gazetteer of Illinois*, etc., Albany, 1823, pp. 52, 94; Baird, Robert, *View of the Valley of the Mississippi*, etc., Philadelphia, 1834, p. 47; Winsor, *Mississippi Basin*, p. 5.

² Shea, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, New York, 1886, pp. 536-544.

he writes:³ "About the middle of May the deputies of the savages of this village (Illinois) accompanied by two Frenchmen went to seek the alliance of the Missouri and of the Osages. These French merchants, with the view of carrying on an advantageous trade with those tribes, made some proposals of peace to them; to these they agreed solely out of complaisance to the French, through consideration for whom they became reconciled with the Osages. I would willingly have performed that journey to see for myself whether anything could be done there for the glory of God among Tamaroa and the Kaoukia who are Illinois; and to sound the Missouri and Osages in order to ascertain what could be obtained from them in respect to Christianity; for I have no doubt that I would have found many dying children and adults to baptize. I contented myself with telling them that I would cheerfully have undertaken the journey with them, as its difficulties and fatigues would have been agreeable to me while working for the interests of God." Further in the journal he says:⁴ "But, as I am alone, I cannot assist or visit the other village of the Illinois, which are on the banks of the Mississippi."

The Seminary of Quebec an outgrowth of the "Missions Etrangères," at Paris felt that it also, would like to do something for the faith and establish missions in New France.⁵ M. de St. Valier, Bishop of Quebec, approved their plans for founding a mission in the Tamarois country and May 1, 1698, gave his authorization to the Seminary. The Seminary was to send a superior who would be Vicar General over the field inhabited by nations on both banks of the Mississippi and its tributaries. They wished to plant their first mission at the Tamarois; but, when the Society of Jesus heard of this, an objection was raised as the Society considered this tribe, since it belonged to the Illinois, already in their care. The Seminary of Quebec, however, looked upon the Tamarois territory, "as the key and necessary passage to reach the more distant nations." By letters patent of July 17, 1698, the very Reverend Francis Jolliet de Montigny, Reverend Anthony Davion and Reverend John Francis Buisson de Saint Cosme were empowered to go to the Mississippi and establish a residence among the Tamarois. The V. Reverend Montigny

³ Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, LXIV. Letter by Father Jacques Gravier in the form of a Journal of the Mission of l'Immaculate Conception de Notre Dame in the Illinois Country, February 15, 1694, p. 161.

⁴ Thwaites, Vol. LXIV, p. 171.

⁵ Shea, *Catholic Church etc.*, p. 538; Abbe Gosselin, in *Congres des Americainistes*, Vol. I, p. 31.

was to be Vicar-General and helped defray the expenses of the journey.

The party set out and reached Michillimackinac from which they set out on September 14,⁶ accompanied by Tonty who was to be their guide for the greater part of the journey. On the 4th of October they came to a small Peoria village where Father Marest had planted a cross.⁷ They then stopped in Chicago at the mission of Father Pinet.⁸ "I cannot explain to you, Monseigneur, with what cordiality and marks of esteem these Jesuit Fathers received and caressed us during the time that we had the consolation of staying with them. Their house is built on the banks of a small lake on one side and a fine prairie on the other. If we may judge of the future by the little while that Father Pinet has been on this mission, we may say that God blesses the labors and zeal of this holy missionary."

On November 19, they arrived at Fort Peoria where they found the Reverend Father Marest.⁹ "All the reverend fathers gave us all possible welcome," and Father Marest says:¹⁰ "Three gentlemen of the Quebec Seminary sent by Monseigneur the Bishop to establish missions on the Mississippi, passed through here. We received them as well as we were able, lodging them in our own house, and sharing with them what we could possess amid a scarcity as great as that which prevailed in the village throughout the year. On leaving, we also induced them to take seven sacks of corn that we had left, concealing our poverty from them, so that they might have less objection to receiving what we offered them. In another of our missions, we also fed two of their people.

"As the gentlemen did not know the Illinois language, we gave them a collection of prayers, and a translation of the catechism, with the notes that we have been able to make upon that language in order to help them learn it. In fine, we showed them every possible attention and kindness."

About noon of December 7, 1698, St. Cosme's party arrived at Tamarois.¹¹ "The Tamarois were cabined on an island lower down

⁶ Shea, *Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi*, New York, 1861. Letter of J. F. St. Cosme to the Bishop (of Quebec), p. 46.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

¹⁰ Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LXV, p. 83. Letter of F. G. Marest, *Illinois Country*, April 29, 1699.

¹¹ Shea, St. Cosme's Letter, p. 66.

than their village, perhaps to get wood more easily, from which their village, which is on the edge of a prairie is somewhat distant, perhaps too for fear of their enemies. We could not well see whether they were numerous. They seemed to us quite so, although the greater part of their people were hunting. There was wherewith to form a fine mission by bringing the Kahokias, who are quite near, and the Michiagamias who are a little lower down on the Mississippi, and said to be quite numerous." The party left Tamarois on the 8th of December and finally arrived at the Arkansas where Mr. de Montigny remained for some time.

I have dwelt at some length upon the St. Cosme's voyage so as to give an idea of the causes at work for the founding of the Tamarois mission. I have also shown the good feelings with which the Jesuits received the Seminary priests. There was soon to be such friction between the two orders that the V. Reverend M. de Montigny was compelled to give up his Vicar-Generalship and to go to France with d'Iberville. Let us now turn to the letters.

Letter No. 1:¹² This extract dated at the Tamarois, March 1700, is written by St. Cosme in answer to a letter written him by Mgr. Laval. The letter was sent by the Reverend Mr. Bergier and young M. de St. Cosme who had not yet taken the priestly vows. In order to give the Mississippi mission more effective force, the Seminary at Quebec had sent out the Reverend M. Bergier and the Reverend M. B. Boutteville in 1699. Young M. de St. Cosme accompanied Mr. Bergier.

M. de Montigny in a letter from the Arkansas in 1699, says:¹³ "As for Mr. de St. Cosme he remains at the Tamarois."¹⁴ Thaumur de LaSource writing also from Arkansas says:^{14a} "Mr. de St. Cosme is at the Tamarois, which is eight leagues from the Illinois. It is the largest village we have seen. There are about three hundred cabins there."¹⁵

It is seen then that in reading the letter that both Montigny and

¹² These letters from the archives of Laval University, Quebec, were called to my attention by Prof. Alvord. I thank M. l'Abbe Amedee Gosselin of Laval University for furnishing us with a copy of them.

¹³ Shea, *Voyage Up and Down*, Montigny's letter, p. 76.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, LaSource's Letter, p. 79.

¹⁵ Abbe Gosselin, *Americaniste*, Vol. I, p. 34. Note says that according to the Quebec census there must have been 1,500 people, or five people to a hut, and he says further: "This LaSource is not the missionary Thaumur LaSource as commonly supposed, but one of the twelve men who accompanied the missionaries who left in 1698. LaSource, the priest, went to the Mississippi in 1718."

St. Cosme are at Tamarois and as the former speaks of what he did during the absence of Montigny who left for Chicago on March 28, 1699, and returned May 20 of the same year, it may be said that the real founding took place between March 28 and May 20, 1699.

The letter ends: "I was very much surprised at Father Bineteau's arrival. He had left Peoria to come and settle in this mission. Father Bineteau and Father Marest were stationed on the Illinois River. Bineteau in his letter of January 1699, says:¹⁶ "I am at present spending the winter with a portion of our savages who are scattered about. I have recently been with the Tamarois, to visit a band of them on the banks of one of the largest rivers in the world, which for this reason we call the Mississippi or 'the great river.' I am to return to the Illinois of Tamarois in the Spring."

"Extracts from a letter of Mr. de St. Cosme to Mgr. Laval dated at Tamarois, March, 1700."

"I have received that (letter) which your highness has done me the honor of sending by Mr. Bergier and my brother who have arrived here the seventh of February. It would be useless for me to describe the difficulties which they have encountered during their journey. Mr. Bergier will tell you about it at some length. I will inform you simply of that which took place in this mission since our arrival from the Arkansas, and since Mr. de Montigny left it to go to Chicago, March 28 of the preceding year 1699. He left me here with two men. I worked toward having my house built and had wood gathered for my chapel. I baptized several children and upon Mr. de Montigny's return from Chicago I had baptized thirty. Upon his arrival, May 20, 1699, he found my house built and lumber for my chapel all ready. We had it (chapel) completed and erected a fine cross. But I was very much surprised at Father Bineteau's arrival. He had left Peoria to come and settle this mission."

Letter No. 2.¹⁷ Shortly after the arrival of Bergier and young St Cosme, the older St. Cosme descended to Natchez.¹⁸ M. de Montigny left for France not long after as we have said and Bergier became Vicar-General. The Reverend M. Bergier remained at the Tamarois post with LaSource who in his letter says:¹⁹ "M. de Montigny inclines to put me at the Tamarois with M. de St. Cosme. I should be not displeased."

¹⁶ Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LXV, p. 71. Letter of Father Julian Bineteau, of the Society of Jesus, to a father of the same society.

¹⁷ Part of this letter has been quoted by Abbe Gosselin in *Congres des Americainistes*, 1906, Vol. I, p. 34.

¹⁸ Bernard de la Harpe, *Journal Historique*, in Margey, Vol. V, p. 404.

¹⁹ Shea, *Voyages Up and Down*, LaSource's Letter, p. 85.

M. Bergier wrote the Bishop of Quebec during the latter part of February, 1700:

"I related to your highness our trip to the Illinois, from which place I wrote you all I had found out about the condition of the missions and that which concerns the government of your church. There remains but to inform you of the condition of the latter.

"I arrived there the 7th of this month with young Mr. de St. Cosme, I have counted there a hundred cabins in all, or thereabouts, of which nearly half are vacant because the greater part of the Cahokias are still in winter quarters twenty or twenty-five leagues from here up the Mississippi.

"The village is composed of Tamarois, Cahokias, some Michigans and Peorias. There are also some Missouri cabins, and shortly, there are to come about thirty-five cabins of this last named nation who are winter-quarterming some ten or fifteen leagues from here below the village, on the river. We must not, however, count this nation as forming part of the village and of the Tamarois mission, because it remains there only a few months to make its Indian wheat, while awaiting a day to return to its village, which is more than a hundred leagues away, upon the shores of the Missouri River. This it has not dared to undertake for the last few years for fear of being surprised and defeated on the way by some other hostile nation.

"The Tamarois and the Cahokias are the only ones that really form part of this mission. The Tamarois have about thirty cabins and the Cahokias have nearly twice that number. Although the Tamarois are at present less numerous than the Cahokias, the village is still called Tamaroa, gallicized 'Des Tamarois,' because the Tamarois have been the first and are still the oldest inhabitants and have first lit a fire there, to use the Indian expression. All the other nations who have joined them afterwards have not caused the name of the village to change, but have been under the name Tamarois although they were not Tamarois."

Letter No. 3. Bergier's second letter is a description of the condition at the Tamarois post. Father Pinet²⁰ mentioned here is the one who received St. Cosme at the Chicago mission. He founded the Guardian Angel at Chicago. He had to give it up through Frontenac's hostility and resumed it through Laval's influence. He probably went to Tamarois in 1700 where he labored with Father Bergier. Gravier says:²¹ "Father Pinet discharges peaceably all the functions of missionary and M. Bergier, who gets along very well with us, has care only of the French, and this is a great relief for Father Pinet."

²⁰ Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LXIV, p. 278.

²¹ Shea, *Voyages Up and Down*, Gravier Journal, p. 118.

In a letter without address dated at Tamarois, June 14, 1700, Mr. Bergier says:

"We have frequent alarms here and we have several times been obliged to receive within our walls nearly all the women and children of the village. Pentecost Sunday there was one (alarm) which was not without consequences. Fort Sious on the edge of the woods of the Tamarois, in plain sight of the village, cut off the neck of a slave belonging to a Frenchman; stabbed two women to death and scalped them; wounded a girl with a knife and crushed another under foot. They were all picking strawberries. We were about to finish singing compline when the chief ran to our door to warn us that the Sioux were killing them. He threw himself into Mr. de Cosme's canoe, with some Indians and Frenchmen to reconnoitre, partly by water and then by land. Great excitement prevailed. Finally the Sioux were discovered and three were captured, killed, burned and eaten. This is a horrible detail. It partakes less of man than of the wolf, the tiger and the demon. The last of these three Sioux, who was burned only the next day was baptized by F. Pinet, who made use of the 'Lorrain' as an interpreter. He (Sioux) was the nephew of Quakantape, chief of the Sioux, and because of this everyone is very much afraid that the Sioux will want to avenge this death and destroy the village some day. On the other hand the Shawnee, who are enemies of the Illinois, are feared.

"One may say that we are 'inter lupos, in medio nationes pravae et perversae.' Their greatest and most universal passion is to destroy, scalp and eat men, that, is all their ambition, their glory; an essential drawback to Christianity, as long as it will last. But the mercy of Jesus Christ is all powerful. Beseech him that he diffuse it very abundantly over this mission, and over the missionaries, and that he make them 'Prudentes ut serpentes, simplices ut comubat.—Amen.' "

Letter No. 4. M. Bergier's letter of April 13, 1701, gives the story of the separation of the tribes. The news of the settling of the French at the mouth of the river doubtless had great influence upon them as they thought they might get refuge from their enemies. Father Pinet became the Missionary of some of the Tamarois and was followed by the Reverend Bineteau.²² Bergier and LaSource remained at the Tamarois who, as Bergier says: "Will leave soon and there will remain only Cahokia."²³

Letter of Mr. Bergier, without address, but dated April 13, 1701. Extract.

"If I did not wish to assure you of the continuance of my respect it would not be necessary to write to tell you what is happening here,

²² Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LXV, p. 263.

²³ *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LXV. Gravier's Journal, p. 101.

because the French will not fail to tell you all I have to say on the subject.

"1. The Kats to the extent of about thirty cabins have established their new village two leagues below this one on the other side of the Mississippi. They have built a fort there and nearly all the French hastened there.

"2. The chief of the Tamarois followed by some cabins joined the Kats, attracted by Rouensae, who promises them much and makes them believe him, saying that he is called by the great chief of the French, Mr. d'Iberville, as Father Marest has told him.

"3. The remainder of the Tamarois, numbering about twenty cabins, are shortly going to join their chief, already settled at the Kats. So there will remain here only the Cahokias, numbering 60 or 70 cabins. They are now cutting stakes to build a fort."²⁴

Letter No. 5. The following passage having no date, address or author's name, is an interesting description of the Tamarois or Cahokia country. It has been impossible for me to date it, but I would place it shortly after 1720, after the completion of Fort Chartres.

THE TAMAROIS OR CAHOKIAS²⁵

"The Tamarois or Cahokias are situated about fifteen leagues above the establishment of the French fort of the Illinois, called Fort Chartres, and five leagues below the mouth of the Missouri. The Mississippi flows nearly to the north and south in a plain which is enclosed between mountains on both sides, which slope differently from the river, because to the west, upon ascending the course of this river, it runs along more closely.

"One usually counts twelve leagues, by land, from the establishment of Fort Chartres to the Cahokias, by going by way of the heights, so as to shorten the journey, which is too difficult to allow vehicles conveying provisions to pass. This one may hope to develop in time by work, so that it would seem more necessary to establish communications from one place to the other by the valley than by traveling over the heights. One could build bridges there to facilitate the passage of some drained rivers which come together at that point. These rivers are filled with water, when the Mississippi overflows. One could also establish different habitations in this space where there are a number of prairies which become larger or smaller, as the river is nearer the eastern side.

²⁴ For further references see: Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, LXIV, 161, 264; LXV, 262, 264; LXVI, 339, 348; LXX, 310; *Margry*, Vol. IV, p. 431; *Margry*, Vol. V, pp. 444, 490, 634; *Magazine of American History*, Vol. VI, p. 160; *Shea, Voyages Up and Down*, LeSueur, p. 87; *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVI, pp. 179, 180, 181, 331, 332.

²⁵ Copy without author's name or date.

"The woods which we usually see upon the bank of the river from the establishment of the French up to the Cahokias are possibly, in their greatest width, three-quarters of a league wide, and about a quarter of a league in width in the narrowest places. They are good for building and heating (sic) and must be better husbanded for the establishment than those of the coasts which are slender, crooked and of medium heaght, the greater part being red, tortuous oaks.

"The edge of these coasts is filled with rocks from which one can extract freestones, grindstones, and millstones. Numerous springs rush from this place, at the base of which it would be easy to build watermills. These springs form marshes which are found for nearly the whole length at the base of the mountains where the land seems to be lower than elsewhere.

"From the source of these marshes to the edges of the woods which are found along the river banks, one from time to time sees prairies, which are more or less long or wide, depending upon the river, as has already been noted.

"The real prairie of the Cahokias (where the gentlemen of the missions are established, as well as the Illinois, who have named the village of the Cahokias) is about two leagues long from the southwest to the northwest, by three-quarters of a league wide in the most prominent place, so that it nearly forms a long square. It is bounded to the northeast by a small fringe of woods about half a league wide. This projects from an arm of the Mississippi nearly up to the heights, beyond which there is another prairie at least as extensive as the preceding, but I have never seen it.

"The soil of the Cahokia is very easy to cultivate, being at least two feet deep where it is found to be black, fertile and light. Then there is found a reddish soil which forms a fine sand mixed with light earth. This soil may without great cultivation produce French wheat, tobacco, corn and in season a variety of vegetables in abundance. It may be used as pasture for a number of cattle, which are not hard to care for in winter because only those which are actually working are enclosed in stables or stalls. The others are left to pasture in the open in summer as well as in winter. An island about a league in length by a half league in width has already been determined upon for a 'commune.' This island forms the arm of the Mississippi upon which are established the gentlemen of the missions and the savages. This, to prevent the cattle from harming the dwellings which may be put up later.

"The prairie of which we have just spoken abundantly furnish lands for 150 good workmen.

"Between this prairie and another to the south there is still another fringe of woods about half a league in extent. A little river which sometimes dries up divides it. This prairie may be also from two leagues or thereabouts in length, by three-quarters of a league in width situated between the mountains and the fringe of woods, by the banks of the river. It is like the preceding and is about the same shape. It may also hold 50 good inhabitants and serve as pasture for

all the cattle they may need. The inhabitants, however, will have a little further to haul their possessions upon the river bank.

“The soil found upon the heights varies. Some of it is in extended prairies and others are covered with woods, the greater part of which are red oaks. Good settlements may be developed there in the future, either to gather wheat or to plant vines, granting that some may be had from Europe which are already rooted cuttings. It seems, however, more proper to settle on the banks of the river because of the convenience of transportation. There are already at Kaskaskias, at the settlement of Fort Chartres and at the Cahokias more than 1500 horned animals and 150 horses, without counting those belonging to the Indians.

“The distance from Kaskaskia to Cahokia is reckoned as being 21 leagues by land, so that one will be able to establish settlements in this space sufficient to sustain many inhabitants and to shelter oneself from the outrages of the Indians.

“The flour and other provisions (sic) can be carried down the river to give the inhabitants who are there more commodities for their livelihood, and will give returns to those of the Illinois for their sustenance as well as the necessary provisions.”

EDWARD JOSEPH FORTIER

In Transactions, Illinois State Historical Society, 1908.

ILLINOIS' FIRST CITIZEN, PIERRE GIBAUT

A number of papers have appeared in the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW from time to time since its establishment concerning the Very Rev. Pierre Gibault. As has been before stated, the writer is desirous of making known everything that can be learned about Father Gibault, Illinois' first and, in many respects, greatest citizen. In pursuit of that purpose we have published not only everything that we could obtain from original research, but as well the papers and researches of others. Additional articles have been held in abeyance while we have been earnestly seeking information respecting the last years of Father Gibault's life and his death and burial. Unfortunately we have succeeded but very poorly in this quest.

It has long been the intention to reproduce the very excellent paper read before the Illinois State Historical Society by the Indiana historian, J. P. Dunn, and published in Publication No. 10 of the Historical Library of Illinois in 1905. This excellent paper insofar as it relates to Father Gibault is herewith reproduced.

As an introduction Mr. Dunn deals at considerable length with the prior history of the Illinois country, and tells interestingly of the banishment of the Jesuits and the efforts of the lone priest in the field, Father Meurin, to secure clerical assistance. At this point we take up Mr. Dunn's able paper.

To the aid of this lone Jesuit (Father Sebastien Lewis Meurin), who was upholding the cross in the Upper Mississippi Valley, Father Pierre Gibault was sent in the spring of 1768. He was of an old Canadian family, his great grandfather, "Gabriel Gibaut, *dit* Poitevin," a native of Poitiers, France, having married at Quebec, October 30, 1667. His father and his grandfather, both of whom bore the same name of Pierre Gibaut (The Abbe Tanguary, uses this spelling of the family name, and treats Gibault, Gibeau, etc., as variations), were natives of Canada. His mother's maiden name was Marie-Joseph St. Jean. His parents were married November 14, 1735, at Sorel, and he, the eldest son, was christened on April 7, 1737, at Montreal. After his primary schooling, and some travel in the western wilds, he was educated in theology at the Seminary of Quebec, and, by an odd coincidence, the expense of his education was paid out of a remnant of the Cahokia Mission property, which had been invested as a "rente" or mortgage annuity of 333 livres a year, on the Hotel

de Ville. He was ordained at Quebec on the feast of St. Joseph, March 19, 1768. He celebrated his first Mass on the following day, in the Ursuline Church, and served for a short time in the Cathedral at Quebec, after which he set out for the Illinois country. His journey was delayed by adverse weather, but he reached Michilimackinac in July, and put in a week there, confessing the voyagers and converted Indians, baptizing the children, and blessing one marriage.

It was intended that he should locate at Cahokia, but on reaching the place a change of plans was made. Kaskaskia was the principal settlement, and the people there wanted the young priest, while the people of Cahokia wanted the veteran, so Father Meurin located there, taking charge also of Prairie du Rocher, and Father Gibault took up his residence at Kaskaskia, his first recorded service there being a baptism on September 8, 1768.

Soon after arriving at Kaskaskia, Father Gibault was attacked by the ague, which was always prevalent there, and had a long and enervating struggle with it; but he kept on incessantly with his pastoral work. By his efforts he not only succeeded in getting the people to attend to their church duties, but also to pay their tithes, which, according to the Canadian usage, were one-twenty-sixth of the produce, instead of one-tenth, but yet gave good support to the clergy in the times of the virgin fertility of the soil. He also attended to the spiritual wants of the Missouri settlements, from which Father Meurin was debarred, and in 1769, blessed the little chapel which the settlers had erected at St. Louis. In the same year, evidently at the desire of Father Meurin, Bishop Briand made him Vicar-General for this region. It was not until the winter of 1769-70 that he reached Vincennes, and then through peril; for hostile Indians beset the settlements and twenty-one of the people had fallen victims to them since he reached the country. Shea says that "the frontier priests always, in these days of peril, carried a gun and two pistols," so that Maurice Thompson's description of the armament of "Father Beret," in "Alice of old Vincennes," has historical basis. Father Gibault reached the little post in safety, and in a letter to Bishop Briand, after deploring the vices and disorder that prevailed there, he says:

"However, on my arrival, all crowded down to the banks of the River Wabash to receive me, some fell on their knees, unable to speak; others could speak only in sobs; some cried out: 'Father, save us, we are almost in hell;' others said: 'God has not then yet abandoned us, for He has sent you to us to do penance for our sins. * * * Oh sir,

why did you not come sooner, my poor wife, my dear father, my dear mother, my poor child, would not have died without the sacraments.”¹

For two months, Father Gibault remained at Vincennes, and not only revived the faith of the Catholics, but also brought into the fold a Presbyterian family which had settled there. The parishioners gave earnest of their zeal by erecting a new church—a wooden structure that was occupied for some fifteen years (the somewhat more substantial church which followed this one was also erected through the efforts of Father Gibault²), and when he set out for Kaskaskia a guard of twenty men accompanied him across the Illinois prairies.

On his return he found the Spanish in possession of the region west of the Mississippi, but with no priests. He ministered to them until 1772, when Father Dagobert, Superior of the Capuchins at New Orleans, sent Father Valentine as parish priest to St. Louis and in the next year, Father Hilary to Ste. Genevieve. This left Father Gibault free to devote his time to the country east of the river, but that occupied him fully, for Father Meurin was old and feeble and in 1774, a crushing message came to him from New Orleans in the news that Pope Clement XIV had suppressed the Society of Jesus. In the whole Valley of the Mississippi Father Meurin, who had labored so faithfully there, was the only priest affected by the Brief of Suppression; and he, who had kept on with his work for more than a decade without local or provincial superior, now threw himself on the mercy of Bishop Briand, and wrote to him: “Free, I would beseech and beg your charitable goodness to be a father to me, and admit absolutely among the number of your clergy, instead of an auxiliary as I have been since February 1, 1742. I should deem myself happy, if, in the little of life left me, I could repair the cowardice and negligence of which I have been guilty in the space of thirty-three years. If you will adopt me, I am sure you will pardon me and ask mercy for me.”³

In 1775 Father Gibault visited Canada, and on his return reached Michilimackinac in September. After waiting a month without finding opportunity to reach the Illinois, he returned for the winter to Detroit, making the journey in a canoe, with great peril and suffering. He wrote from Detroit, on December 4, to Bishop Briand: “The suffering I have undergone between Michilimackinac and this place has so deadened my faculties that I only half feel my chagrin at being unable to proceed to the Illinois. I shall do my best not to be useless

¹ Shea, *Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll*, p. 128.

² *Ibid.*, p. 470.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

at Detroit, and to relieve the two venerable old priests who attend it.”⁴ He had visited Vincennes in March, 1775, and did not reach that point again until the summer of 1777, Phillibert officiating in lay capacity in the meantime.

The Revolutionary War was now under way, and the harassing of the frontiers by Indian allies of the British led to the memorable expedition of George Rogers Clark. Imagination could hardly picture anything more desperate than this undertaking. With a force of less than 200 men⁵ and a military chest supplied only with 8,000 pounds sterling of almost worthless Virginia scrip, he marched into the Northwest. It was evident that he could succeed only through the friendship and co-operation of the French settlers, and Clark realized it. And of all of these, now that their old military leaders were gone, no man's influence was so important as that of Father Gibault, who for ten years had ministered to the spiritual wants of the people, had advised them in their business and other affairs, had baptized their children, had given consolation to their sick, had buried their dead. The astute American leader understood this, and was well pleased when, after the capture of Kaskaskia, the priest came with a half-a-dozen elderly citizens to ask the privilege of assembling the people in the church that they might prepare for their separation. He extended a little hope, and was not surprised when, after spending some time at the church, the delegation returned, with Father Gibault at its head. Says Clark, in his memoir: “They remained a considerable time in the church, after which the priest and many of the principal men came to me to return thanks for the indulgence shown them, and begged permission to address me further on the subject that was more dear to them than anything else; that their present situation was the fate of war; that the loss of their property they could reconcile; but were in hopes that I would not part them from their families; and that the women and children might be allowed to keep some of their clothes and a small quantity of provisions.” This was the point of depression at which Clark was prepared to act. He says: “I asked them very abruptly whether or not they thought they were speaking to savages; that I was certain they did from the tenor of their conversation. Did they suppose that we meant to strip the women and children, or take the bread out of their mouths or that we would condescend to make war on the women or children or the church? It was to prevent the effusion of innocent blood by the Indians, through the instigation of

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

⁵ English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, Vol. 1, p. 154.

their commander's emissaries, that caused us to visit them, and not the prospect of plunder; that as soon as that object was attained we should be perfectly satisfied; that as the King of France joined the Americans, there was a probability of there shortly being an end of the war (this information very apparently affected them). They were at liberty to take which side they pleased, without any dread of losing their property or having their families destroyed. As for their church, all religions would be tolerated in America, and so far from our intermeddling with it, that any insult offered to it should be punished; and to convince them that we were not savages and plunderers, as they had conceived, that they might return to their families and inform them that they might conduct themselves as usual, with all freedom and without apprehensions of any danger."

This declaration relieved all fear, and the town was soon in a noisy demonstration of joy and gratitude. And the effect was lasting, for the French volunteered to go to Cahokia, and induce their friends there to join the American cause, and in a few days the Illinois settlements were peopled with men who had taken the oath of allegiance to the American colonies.

In his broad promise of religious toleration Clark was perhaps wiser than even he realized, for the Church had suffered under British rule. Of course, the French authorities of Louisiana were responsible for the expulsion of the Jesuits, but it had occurred after the country had been subject to Great Britain. Moreover, church property, and especially that of the Seminary of Cahokia, which had been unlawfully disposed of, had not been restored. The English commandants were repeatedly asked to restore the Cahokia mission property, but refused to do so, and Gibault was never able to carry out his instructions from the Bishop of Quebec, in regard to it. Moreover, Clark states in his letter to Mason that Gibault, in his recent visit to Canada had become somewhat acquainted with the issues between Great Britain and the colonies, and "was rather prejudiced in favor of us." He further states when the declaration of religious freedom was made to Gibault, it "seemed to complete his happiness." Certainly Gibault was heart and soul with the Americans from that time forward. He promoted the movement for bringing all the French of the Illinois settlements into allegiance; he volunteered to go to Post Vincennes and win over the people there; in company with Dr. Lefont he made this journey, administered the oath of allegiance to the French settlers, secured possession of the fort, and urged the Indians to take sides with the Americans as the French were doing. After Hamilton had recaptured Vincennes, when Clark started on his desperate winter march

to retake it, Gibault made a patriotic address to the troops, and gave his blessing to them and their enterprise. Perhaps even more important were his services in a financial way for he publicly sold his own property to the Americans, accepting for it Virginia scrip at face value, and by his example he induced the French settlers and merchants to do the same. Judge Law did not at all overestimate Gibault's services when he said: "To him, next to Clark and Vigo, the United States are more indebted for the accession of the States comprised in what was the original northwestern territory than to any other man."⁶

There is perhaps a better measure of Father Gibault's sacrifices for the American cause in the testimony of his enemies than in that of his friends, for the British recognized the damage he had done to them even more keenly than the Americans recognized the service to their cause. Immediately after hearing of Clark's capture of Kaskaskia, Hamilton sent a dispatch with the information, in which he said: "The rebels have sent a detachment with an officer to Cahokia to receive the submission of the inhabitants, and the person who brought the account has no doubt but those of St. Vincennes are by this time summoned, as a French priest named Gibault had his horse ready saddled to proceed there, from Cahokia, with power to act as agent for the rebels. This Ecclesiastic is a fellow of infamous morals, and I believe very capable of acting such a part."⁷ In the year after General Hamilton had retaken Vincennes, a half-dozen of the French militia, having deserted him, he wrote: "One of the deserters was a brother to Gibault, the priest, who had been an active agent for the rebels and whose vicious and immoral conduct was sufficient to do infinite mischief in a country where ignorance and bigotry give full scope to the depravity of a licentious ecclesiastic. This wretch it was who absolved the French inhabitants from their allegiance to the King of Great Britain. To enumerate the vices of the inhabitants would be to give a long catalogue, but to assert that they are not in possession of a single virtue is no more than truth and justice require; still the most eminently vicious and scandalous was the Reverend Monsieur Gibault."⁸

These bursts of wrath from the "hair-buying general" would be almost amusing were it not that the slander here uttered was persistently repeated and worked most serious injury to the victim. In 1779 Lieut. Governor St. Clair reported: "General Carlton and the Bishop

⁶ Law, *History of Vincennes*, p. 55.

⁷ Griffin, *American Catholic Historical Researches*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (Oct. 1891), p. 186.

⁸ English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, Vol. 1, p. 242.

sent up one Gibou, a priest, on a mission for reasons best known to themselves, the part which he at present takes in the rebel interest and may hereafter improve upon, requires in my humble opinion *a mandate from Mon. Seigneur for his appearance at Quebec*. His conduct will certainly justify me to the General in making this representation, and I do it to avoid any future severity which may, by means of Indians, be necessary to direct against an individual of the sacred and respectable clergy. He removes to the Spanish and this side of the Mississippi occasionally, and may be addressed at the Cascaskies.⁹ In 1780, perhaps in pursuance of this suggestion, the Bishop of Quebec ordered him to present himself and answer certain accusations that had been made against him.¹⁰ The exact character of the accusation is not known, and it appears that the order was not pressed, for Gibault did not go to Quebec, though he made defense by letter in 1786 to the charges accumulated to date. In his letter of June 6, of that year, he gave the old and simple answer, "The works that I do in my Father's name, they bear witness of me"—putting it in these words:

To all the pains and hardships I have undergone in my different journeys to most distant points, winter and summer, attending so many villages in Illinois distant from each other, in all weathers, night and day, snow or rain, storm or fog on the Mississippi, so that I never slept four nights in a year in my own bed, never hesitating to start at a moment's notice, whether sick or well, how can a priest who sacrifices himself in this way, with no other view than God's glory, and the salvation of his neighbor, with no pecuniary reward, almost always ill-fed, unable to attend to both spiritual and temporal needs; how, I say, can you know such a priest zealous to fulfill the duties of his holy ministry, careful to watch over his flock, instruct them in the most important tenets of religion, instruct the young unceasingly and untiringly not only in Christian doctrine, but teaching the boys to read and write, as one who gives scandal, and is addicted to intoxication?¹¹

All the evidence existing confirms this statement, and indicates that these charges were utterly unfounded. His own letters bear testimony. In this same year he writes to Bishop Briand from Vincennes: "I should be well enough pleased with the people, were it not for the wretched liquor trade which I cannot eradicate, and which

⁹ Letter of Lt. Gov. St. Clair to Capt. Brehm, dated Oct. 15, 1779. *Haldimand Papers* quoted in *American Catholic Historical Researches*, Vol. 5, No. 1, (Jan. 1, 1888), p. 52.

¹⁰ Records of the American Catholic Historical Society, Vol. 12, p. 488, Miss Peyton's Prize Essay.

¹¹ Shea, *Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll*, p. 470.

compels me to refuse the sacraments to several, for the Indians commit horrible disorders when in liquor.’’¹² These were indeed strange sentiments for a man “addicted to intoxication”—a man who carried his temperance reform work to the extent of refusing the sacraments of the Church to a liquor dealer who refused to submit to regulation.

But Father Gibault’s good character has other witnesses. Father Meurin, himself a post-graduate in the hardships of missionary life, had always the warmest commendation for his assistant. He wrote: “M. Gibault is full of zeal, and for this reason he cannot last long, unless it pleases our God to renew ancient miracles; he has often to go on perilous journeys, across woods and mountains, exposed to weather, rivers and torrents. M. Gibault, since his arrival in this country, has always been sick of fevers—first great and dangerous, then slight and slow—against which his courage has always sustained him so that he could perform his duties in the parish of the Immaculate Conception at Kaskaskia.”¹³ That his superiors held him in esteem is conclusively shown by his retention as Vicar-General by the Bishop of Quebec so long as this region was in his jurisdiction. It is unquestionable that his people had high regard for him, and it is notable that in one of the few printed documents of the Illinois country of this period—a pamphlet printed about 1772, urging better government, the establishment of schools, etc.,—is found the testimonial, “We have had a long experience of the exemplary piety and virtue of our worthy Fathers Meurin and Gibault.”¹⁴ In the face of this evidence no one can credit such charges with so evident a source of malevolence in plain view. Nevertheless the reiterated slander had some effect, and it was added to by a peculiar complication. After the treaty with Great Britain at the close of the Revolutionary War, the authorities at Rome made the Church in the United States independent of the diocese of London; and in 1784 John Carroll of Baltimore, was made Prefect Apostolic for the United States and, in 1790, Bishop of a diocese including them. He naturally assumed that the Illinois country was in his jurisdiction, and appointed Reverend Huet de la Valiniere his Vicar-General for the region. But Detroit and the country about the lakes was still held by the British, and the Bishop of Quebec still exercised control there. Neither Bishop Briand nor his successor, Bishop Hubert, relieved Father Gibault of his responsibility as Vicar-General, and as he declined to give way without orders

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 470.

¹³ Records of American Catholic Historical Society, Vol. 12, p. 472.

¹⁴ Quoted in Life of Archbishop Carroll, p. 132.

from his superior, a double spiritual rule ensued and continued until 1791, when Father Gibault withdrew from Cahokia where he had been officiating, and retired to the Spanish territory west of the Mississippi. It is quite probable that this withdrawal was partly due to Father Gibault's treatment by the United States authorities.

In the spring of 1790 Congress having ordered donations of lands to those who had served in the militia, Father Gibault asked for a small return for his services. His letter addressed to Governor St. Clair is well known, and there is a simple pathos in its recitation of his sacrifice of 7,800 livres in goods and money to aid Clark, and not a cent of which had been repaid, of the straits to which he had been reduced on this account, of his hope, that justice would be done, and of his continued service to the United States. He says, "The love of his country and of liberty has also led your memorialist to reject all of the advantages offered him by the Spanish Government; and he endeavored by every means in his power, by exertions and exhortations, and by letters to the principal inhabitants, to retain every person in the dominion of the United States in expectation of better times, and giving them to understand that our lives and property having been employed twelve years in the aggrandizement and preservation of the United States, would at last receive acknowledgment, and be compensated by the enlightened and upright ministers, who sooner or later would come to examine into and relieve our situation." He asked for the old Cahokia mission property, about five acres, the title to which had been unsettled for so long that nobody seemed to have any claim to it.¹⁵ But, unfortunately for his hopes, St. Clair had no authority to make such a grant, and reported the request to Washington, saying, "I believe no injury would be done to anyone by his request being granted, but it was not for me to give away the lands of the United States."¹⁶

Shea states that this request was granted, but that Bishop Carroll entered a protest against the proposal to convey church property to an individual, and "apparently in consequence the Rev. Mr. Gibault left the Diocese of Baltimore and retired to the Spanish territory beyond the Mississippi."¹⁷ I find no basis for this statement. It is hardly possible that Bishop Carroll could have interposed while the matter was in Governor St. Clair's hands, and if he had St. Clair would probably have mentioned it. No one else had any authority to

¹⁵ American State Papers, Public Lands, Vol. 1, p.21.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹⁷ Shea, *Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll*, p. 472.

make the donation except Congress, and there is nothing to indicate any movement in that direction by Congress. It was a case of seeking relief from a wrong source, a mistake natural enough to one accustomed to the plenary power of the French commandants, who made all the land grants in the olden time. There is mention made in a list of allotments to "heads of families" which had never been confirmed, but which "ought to be confirmed," of one to Pierre Gibault, but the owner of the claim at the time was John Rice Jones, to whom the original allottee had evidently been obliged by his necessities, to sell his claim, and if the claim was ever confirmed, it, of course, was to Jones.

It has also been commonly stated by historians that Father Gibault received a "concession" of a small tract of land in Vincennes from Secretary Winthrop Sargent, the impression being given that this was a donation from the Government. This is entirely erroneous, Sargent, as well as St. Clair, acted under the congressional resolution of August 29, 1788, which among other things, provided for "confirming in their possessions and titles, the French and Canadian inhabitants and other settlers at Post St. Vincents who, on or before the year 1783, had settled there, and had professed themselves citizens of the United States, or any of them and for laying off to them, at their own expense, the several tracts which they rightfully claim, and which may have been allotted to them according to the laws and usages of the Government under which they have respectively settled."¹⁸

This was a legal obligation on the United States, expressly imposed by the deed of cession from Virginia, which stipulated that the private property rights of the French settlers should be protected. Sargent included this lot of Gibault's in his list of the "ancient rights" that were to be surveyed "at the expense of the proper claimants;" and the only "concession" he made was the concession that Father Gibault had shown by legal evidence that he was the owner of, and entitled to possession of it.

But even this confirmation of ancient titles, which was intended as an act of justice, was in reality a serious hardship to the French settlers, and Gibault and eighty-seven others united in a protest to the government against it. In this document they maintained that the order was neither necessary nor judicious, saying: "It does not appear necessary, because, from the establishment of the colony to this day, they have enjoyed their property and possessions, without disputes or lawsuits on the subject of their limits; that the surveys

¹⁸ Journals of Congress, Vol. 4, p. 859.

of them were made at the time the concessions were obtained from their ancient kings, lords and commandants; and that each of them knew what belonged to him, without attempting an encroachment on his neighbor, or fearing that his neighbor would encroach on him. It does not appear adapted to pacify them, because, instead of assuring to them the peaceable possession of their ancient inheritance, as they have enjoyed it till now, that clause obliges them to bear expenses which, in their present situation, they are absolutely incapable of paying, and for the failure of which they must be deprived of their lands.

“Your excellency is an eye-witness of the poverty to which the inhabitants are reduced, and of the total want of provisions to subsist on. Not knowing where to find a morsel of bread to nourish their families, by what means can they support the expense of a survey which has not been sought for on their parts and for which it is conceived by them there is no necessity? Loaded with misery, and groaning under the weight of misfortunes, accumulated since the Virginia troops entered their country, the unhappy inhabitants throw themselves under the protection of your excellency, and take the liberty to solicit you to lay their deplorable situation before Congress; and, as it may be interesting for the United States to know exactly the extent and limits of their ancient possessions, in order to ascertain the lands which are yet at the disposal of Congress, it appears to them, in their humble opinion, that the expense of survey ought more properly to be borne by Congress, for whom alone it is useful, than by them who do not feel the necessity of it.”¹⁹

This may seem a dark picture, but it is not overdrawn. Even nature seemed to have turned against these people, and floods, frosts and droughts ruined their crops. There was actual famine. People lost their lives by eating poisonous roots to satisfy their hunger. Governor St. Clair and Major Hamtramck not only testified to the facts, but furnished corn from the government supplies to the starving people.²⁰ In truth, our French friends fared hardly under American rule, and none so badly as Father Gibault, who did not get any return in land as a militiaman or the head of a family, and lost his ecclesiastical support on account of the change of jurisdiction. He never received a particle of compensation from Virginia or the United States for his services, and he never received one cent of repayment for money and goods actually furnished to our troops. The situation

¹⁹ American State Papers, Public Lands, Vol. 1, p. 16.

²⁰ Dunn's *Indiana*, pp. 268-9.

seems almost incredible, but it was a horrible reality. The French claimnants had neither the knowledge nor the pecuniary ability to press their claims, and there was no one to do it for them. In truth, the situation of the French settlers justifies this conclusion of President Roosevelt:

“The conquest of the Illinois territory was fraught with the deepest and most far-reaching benefits to all the American people; it is likewise benefited, in at least an equal degree, the boldest and most energetic among the French inhabitants, those who could hold their own among freemen, who could swim in troubled waters; but it may well be doubted whether to the mass of the ignorant and simple creoles it was not a curse rather than a blessing.”²¹

To Sargent's credit be it said that on July 31, 1790, he wrote to the President:

“I must take the liberty of representing to Congress, by desire of the citizens of this country, and as a matter which I humbly conceive they should be informed of, that there are, not only at this place (Vincennes) but in the several villages upon the Mississippi, considerable claims for supplies furnished troops of Virginia, before and since 1783, which no person yet has been authorized to attend to. and which is very injurious to the interest and feelings of men who seem to have been exposed to a variety of distresses and impositions by characters pretending to have acted under the orders of that government.”

This was sent to Congress, but nothing was done. It is not surprising that after years of weary waiting Father Gibault at length abandoned the country of his choice and went to the Spanish settlements beyond the Mississippi, where he might at least hope to avoid starvation. Of his life after that time the fullest information collected is by the Reverend J. Sasseville, cure of the Parish of Ste. Foye, near Quebec, who says:

“In 1790, M. Gibault still resided at the parish of Cahokia, as the date in his memoir indicates. The registers of this parish still bear his signature the following year, when he disappeared without ever returning. In the archives of the Archbishop of St. Louis, we find that M. Gibault gave a mission among the Arkansas in 1792 and 1793, and that this same year he was nominated pastor of New Madrid in the southern part of the State of Missouri. This is the last trace we have of him. My final researches have been unsuccessful. It is certain that he died at New Madrid in the end of the last century or at the beginning of the present.”²²

²¹ Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, Vol. 2, p. 185.

²² Lambing, *Catholic Historical Researches*, Vol. 2, p. 118.

Shea says that he died at New Madrid in 1804.²³ Unfortunately the old parish records of New Madrid were destroyed by fire during the Civil War, and it may now be impossible to ascertain the date with certainty. The probability is, as stated by Edmond Mallet that he passed his last days "in unmerited poverty and obscurity among his compatriots of the Mississippi Valley, and that his ashes repose in the land which he illumined by his charity and patriotism. The Republic may yet repair its neglect of this great patriot, and the Great West may yet erect a monument to his memory. Be that as it may, his name must ever be cherished by American Catholics as one of the foremost of those glorious heroes of the faith who merited well of their country during the struggle for American Independence."²⁴ By an evidently erroneous citation of this article Mr. Shea does a great injustice to its author by charging him with holding Father Gibault responsible for executions for witchcraft in the Illinois country.²⁵ There is absolutely no reference to the subject in the article. I have never found the charge anywhere except in Roosevelt's *Winning of the West*.²⁶ It is there based on an inferential argument that is very far from being conclusive.

It is cause for congratulation that the Illinois State Historical Society has taken up the task of seeing that a suitable memorial is given to this American patriot, for one may well question whether we of this generation have room to criticize our predecessors, his contemporaries, for their neglect. True, they neglected him in his life, but we have neglected him in the tomb. They were more closely acquainted with his great and unquestionable services, but they who knew this region as the wilderness of more than a century ago had no conception of the magnitude of those services as have we, who know today the empire he contributed so largely to give us. We realize, as they did not, that his service to our country was not only in the aid given to Clark, but also in the long life of arduous labor for the welfare of the people and the reclamation of the fertile land we enjoy and yet we have let the record of those labors lie in our midst unpublished, almost inaccessible, and in danger of destruction by fire—as occurred to the parish records of New Madrid and Pensacola—or from other cause. And we have done this to our own hurt, for we profess to be interested in the history of this region, and yet

²³ Shea, *Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll*, p. 596.

²⁴ "Very Rev. Pierre Gibault, Patriot Priest of the West," in *Washington Catholic*, Sept. 30, 1882.

²⁵ Shea, *Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll*, p. 190.

²⁶ Vol. 2, p. 175.

we have spent years puzzling over questions that would be readily answered if the ancient records of the parishes in which Father Gibault officiated were published. I have mentioned how we have stumbled and groped in the dark in the case of the St. Ange family, and how even now we lack information concerning them that lies within our reach. This is but one of many cases. Indiana historians blundered for years concerning William Clark, one of the first judges of the Territorial Court of Indiana. Some confused him with William Clark, a prominent land surveyor of the territory. Some confused him with William Clark, brother of George Rogers Clark, and subsequently of the celebrated Lewis and Clark expedition. At length Hon. W. H. English thought to have an investigation made of the parish records of Vincennes, and there was found the record of his death and burial, fully explaining the mystery.²⁷

Moreover, while the eastern states are collecting and publishing all the information that can be obtained concerning their revolutionary soldiers, shall we neglect this mine of information concerning the revolutionary soldiers of this region who served under George Rogers Clark, and whose services were recognized and rewarded by their American contemporaries? Do we not owe them something?

It may be thought that the work proposed is large. In reality it is small as compared with the similar work covering all the ancient parish records of Canada, every item of which is made available in the great Genealogical Dictionary of Canada by the Abbe Tanguay. Shall not this generation do its duty to that past generation and to Father Gibault by the publication of a Gibault Memorial Volume which shall include the ancient parish records of this region, and the correspondence from the clergy that lies unpublished in the archives of the Bishop of Quebec? Surely Illinois, Indiana, and Missouri owe this much to the man who was Vicar-General of this region for twenty years, and who did so much to bring it into the United States.

It may be said that this would be more a service to ourselves than a memorial to him. Not so. We can do him no direct service. In such a situation, confronted by unrequired merit, we may well remember the solemn words:

“Can storied urn or animated bust
Back to its mansion call the fleeting breath?
Can honor's voice provoke the silent dust?
Can flattery soothe the dull, cold ear of death?”

²⁷ English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, Vol. 2, p. 1015.

The utmost we can do for Father Gibault is to hold him in grateful memory, and make the record of his service known to the world, that others may do likewise. But if he could speak,—if we could ask him what memorial he would prefer—can we doubt, knowing his life of self-sacrifice and labors for others, that he would answer, “Whatever would most benefit my fellow-men.” And he would answer rightly, for in that service man attains title to the highest tribute that can be paid to the dead: “He rests from his labors, and his works do follow him.”

Chicago.

JOSEPH J. THOMPSON.

COLONEL RICARD O'SULLIVAN BURKE

The life story of this veteran is an inspiration to men who are not afraid of hardships, sufferings and sacrifices, and who are willing to risk life, liberty and property in order that their fellowmen may enjoy the blessings of religious and political liberty.

He was the son of Dennis and Margaret Burke and was born at Keneagh, near Dunmanway, County Cork, Ireland, January 24, 1838, which would leave him over eighty-four years of age at the time of his death on May 11, 1922.

During his boyhood days he attended the National School at Dunmanway, County Cork, under a teacher named Murphy, who was exceedingly pro-British, and who, when Burke was convicted as a Fenian, regretted very much that he ever had such a pupil in his school.

During his boyhood he showed decided military tastes; and in 1853, when the Crimean war broke out he endeavored to join the British army in order to get into a practical school of war, but was rejected on account of his youth. Not to be daunted in his desire to secure military training he joined the Cork militia, which was composed principally of outcasts who could find no other occupation. When the militia was disbanded in 1856 young Burke was ashamed to go home, so he became supercargo of a sailing vessel and "followed the sea" for a few years, during which time he visited the principal Mediterranean ports and also Japan, Peru, Chili, Argentine, Mexico and the United States. He spent one year in Paris, France, where he studied art, attending classes at the Louvre and familiarized himself with the French language, which he utilized later to his great advantage. He returned to the United States in 1861, and at the commencement of the Civil War he enlisted in the Union army where he was assigned to the 15th New York Light infantry, in command of Col. John McLeod Murphy.

CIVIL WAR RECORD

This regiment was soon afterwards moved to Bellevue Gardens and later to Fort Schuyler, and then to what is now the headquarters of the Torpedo Squad at Willetts Point, Long Island, New York. Later the regiment was ordered to Washington and afterwards moved to Maryland.

Just before the first battle of Bull Run, which was fought on July 21, 1861, he was appointed color bearer of the regiment and he

took an active part in this battle. His division was soon afterwards sent to Washington to attend the Engineering Training School, and here he became proficient in the profession which he afterwards followed in civil life, that of civil engineer.

He participated in the battles of Glouster, the Seven Days Battles from Mechanicsville, on June 26, 1862, to Malvern Hill, on July 1, 1862, also in the second battle of Bull Run on August 29-30, 1862, the battle of Chancellorsville on May 2-3, 1863, and the battle of Franklin's Crossing. Soon after these battles he was appointed first lieutenant and served through the battle of the Wilderness, May 5-6, 1864, Spottsylvania, May 8-12, 1864, and many others during that year. It was during this latter battle that Gen. Grant sent his famous message: "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." During this year he was assigned to Gen. Grant's headquarters at City Point as engineer in charge of the fortifications of the division. Later followed the siege of Petersburg, and on April 2, 1865, the Confederates were forced to evacuate the town. He was one of twelve men appointed by Gen. Grant to tunnel their way under the city of Richmond, and the work was only commenced when that city surrendered. In May, 1865, he was made Captain and placed in charge of a company at Burke's Station, Virginia, and was promoted to the rank of Colonel before he was mustered out of service at Fort Barry, Va., June 13, 1865.

FENIAN RECORD AND ACTIVITIES

Col. Burke joined the Fenian Brotherhood in New York before his regiment left for the front in 1861, and rendered that organization every assistance possible to organize the Fenian Brotherhood in the United States army. As the British government at the time was aiding the Confederacy, and the Fenians were opposed to British rule in Ireland and British interference in the United States, the American government threw no obstacles in the way of those in the army organizing the Fenian Brotherhood and sympathizing with the objects and purposes of that organization.

In a speech in New York at a Manchester Martyrs' anniversary celebration, November 24, 1910, Colonel Burke stated that: "In 1861-2-3, the Fenian Brotherhood had in the ranks of the United States army many members, non-commissioned officers and officers; in the armies of the West, the army of the Ohio, the Tennessee, the Cumberland, the Trans-Mississippi; in the army of the Valley, the army of the Potomac, the James and the department of the East. I had the honor of being Centre of the Division of the Fenian

Brotherhood in the army of the Potomac, which embraced the artillery and the engineers. The head of the organization in the army of the Potomac was one of the ablest and most gallant of the generals of that most gallant army, Gen. Thomas A. Smyth of Delaware; and in the last fight of the war he had a Major General's command and a Brigadier General's rank. * * * Gen. Smyth was killed in action and I cannot tell you how grave a loss that was to Ireland.

"At Gettysburg we lost many more of our officers. Gettysburg preceded the action at Sailor's creek by nearly two years. At Gettysburg we lost one of the brightest minds of the organization, Col. O'Rourke, Lieutenant of Engineers of the United States army and Colonel commanding one of the volunteer regiments of New York."

He cited among those officers of the United States army who had placed their services at the command of the Fenian Brotherhood after the Civil war for services in Ireland, Gen. William G. Halpin, who commanded a brigade in Gen. Sherman's western army; Gen. Michael Kerwin, the youngest Brigadier under Gen. Sherman, Capt. James Murphy of the 13th Massachusetts Volunteers; Col. Thomas J. Kelly* of the 10th Ohio, Capt. Timothy Deasy* of the 9th Massachusetts, Capt. Michael O'Rourke of one of Meagher's Brigade regiments, Lieut. Col. John W. Byron of Meagher's 88th, Gen. Denis F. Burke, Colonel of the 88th New York, and many other officers who rendered efficient service in the Union army during the Civil War.

SERVICES IN IRELAND AND ENGLAND

When Col. Burke was mustered out of service at the close of the Civil War he reported to John O'Mahoney, Head Centre of the Fenian Brotherhood, for service in Ireland; and after a few months delay in New York, during which he worked as a book-keeper in a publishing house, his services were accepted and he sailed for Ireland and reported to Col. Thomas J. Kelly, then acting as Chief of Staff of James Stephens, the Chief Executive of the Irish Republican Brotherhood.

On account of his acquaintance with him in Fenian circles in the United States army Col. Kelly recommended Col. Burke to James Stephens as the best man to act as agent for the organization in England for the purchase of arms. Col. Burke proceeded to England immediately and made contracts for the purchase of arms to

* These two officers were those mentioned in the Manchester Rescue.

be used in the proposed Fenian rising in Ireland in an effort to throw off the British yoke; but lack of money in the organization impaired his activities in that direction.

As Fenian activities were not progressing as well as might be expected in Ireland in 1866, Col. Burke returned to New York during the summer of that year and held conferences with the men in the United States in charge of the movement for the liberation of Ireland from British rule; and arrangements were made for the renewal of activities in Ireland early in 1867.

During the winter of 1866-7 American officers in sympathy with the cause of Irish freedom, who had been mustered out of service after the Civil War, were going to Ireland in small groups to be in readiness in 1867, when the Fenian leaders had determined to make a final effort to liberate Ireland from British oppression.

The plans were made primarily by Gen. William G. Halpin, Col. Thomas J. Kelly and Col. Ricard O'Sullivan Burke, and were feasible and practicable, but were disarranged by a premature attack made under the direction of Capt. McCaffery on his own responsibility, on Chester Castle, a month before the date set for the Irish insurrection on March 5, 1867. This raid was intended to secure arms for the Irish in the proposed fight; and the success of the enterprise was frustrated by the informer John J. Corydon, who divulged to the British government the plans for the capture of Chester Castle.

Col. Burke was assigned to take charge of the men of Waterford in the rising, but the organization was practically broken up in that locality on account of the information given to the government by Corydon, and only a few men could be induced to turn out and take the risk involved in such an enterprise. The proposed insurrection was a failure and the men who were expected to execute the enterprise were dispersed, as their leaders saw the futility of any attempt of that kind at that time with the British government in possession of their plans.

After the movement had failed to materialize Col. Burke, Col. Thomas J. Kelly, Capt. Timothy Deasy, Capt. Michael O'Rourke and other officers went to England and proceeded to reorganize the Fenian movement in that country, and in August a convention of about 300 delegates was held and the plans were laid for a permanent organization. In the following month two of these gentlemen were arrested, and then followed another chapter of interesting history in which Col. Ricard O'Sullivan Burke took an active and leading part.

One of the histories written at that time gives the following account of that incident:

“Early before daybreak on the morning of September 11, 1867, the policeman on duty at Oak street, Manchester, noticed four broad shouldered, muscular men loitering in a suspicious manner about the shop of a clothes dealer in the neighborhood. Their arrest was attempted. A struggle ensued in which two of the suspects succeeded in escaping, but the remaining pair, after offering a determined resistance, were overpowered and carried off to the police station.”

Col. Burke was one of the “broad-shouldered, muscular men” who escaped, and Col. Thomas J. Kelly and Capt. Timothy Deasy were the two who were captured, and whose forcible release afterwards from the custody of the English police at Manchester, England, constitutes what in history is known as the “Manchester Rescue.”

“THE MANCHESTER RESCUE”

After their arrest Col. Kelly and Capt. Deasy were confined in Salford jail. They were taken to the Courthouse in Manchester for a preliminary hearing, and identified by the British police inspector as Fenian leaders and at his request again remanded to jail to await trial for conspiring to levy war against the British government. Their Fenian comrades, led by Col. Ricard O'Sullivan Burke, determined to rescue them from the hands of the English authorities; and as the prison van in which they were confined with four other prisoners was passing under the railroad bridge half way between the court house and the jail, thirty or more men jumped from behind the fence and ordered the driver to halt. Word had been received by the British authorities that some such movement was on foot, and they had quadrupled the guard, having placed five policemen on the prison van in front, two in the rear, and four in a cab following the van to guard against any attempt at rescue. However, the project was so bold, the enterprise so unusual and the participants so determined that the police guard fled in terror.

Sergeant Charles Brett, who was inside the van in charge of the prisoners, was directed by the rescuers to hand over the keys, but he refused; and several attempts were made to break open the prison van and release the prisoners, but in vain. Finally one of the rescuers fired a shot through the lock in order to break it, and Sergeant Brett, who happened to have his head near the door at the time, was shot and soon after died of his wound. One of the other prisoners handed out the keys and the door was opened and Col.

Kelly and Capt. Deasy, who had been securely handcuffed in the van, were liberated and handed over to their friends who spirited them away; and British police authorities never received any information relative to the whereabouts of these prisoners afterwards so loyal and secretive were the members of the Fenian Brotherhood and their friends and sympathizers in their cause.

THE MANCHESTER MARTYRS

William Philip Allen, Michael Larkin and Michael O'Brien, Edward O'Meagher Condon, and a man named Maguire were afterwards arrested, tried and convicted of murder for participation in the rescue of the two Irish-American officers resulting in the death of Sergeant Brett; and O'Meagher Condon's sentence was commuted, Maguire, who was shown to have been at Liverpool at the time of the rescue, was pardoned, and the other three were hanged on November 23, 1867, to satiate British thirst for Irish blood, and are known in history as "The Manchester Martyrs."

Upon leaving the dock after their trial and sentence they all shouted "God Save Ireland;" and an Irish poet wrote the song of that title which has since become the national anthem of Ireland.

The writer has a letter written by his sister in a convent in Brisbane, Queensland, Australia, in 1890, in which she states that a man whose name she gave as Maguire (but that was not his real name), had died in the hospital there, and after making his peace with God, openly confessed to her and the clergyman and some others present that it was he who had fired the fatal shot through the lock in the door of the prison van in Manchester. This letter was shown to Col. Ricard O'Sullivan Burke soon after it was received, and he stated that it would not be judicious for him at that time to comment on its contents. At that time the writer penned these lines:

**For a deed that these men never helped to commit,
But she hanged them in anger and malice, to-wit,
To avenge her foul wrath and hold Ireland in crepe,
While the slayer to Australia had made his escape!

"ERIN'S HOPE"

As part of the project to aid in the insurrection in Ireland in 1867, a vessel named the *Jackmel* was procured and 8,000 rifles and upwards of a million rounds of ammunition were placed on board; and forty officers who had gained experience in the Civil War embarked thereon for active work in Ireland. The vessel sailed from

New York April 12, 1867, under command of Captain Cavanaugh, and reached Sligo Bay on May 20, 1867, where it was boarded by Col. Burke, who informed the captain that the insurrection had failed and there was no further use in Ireland for the men or arms. The captain sailed his vessel half ways around Ireland and landed thirty of his men at Helvie Head near Dungarvan, County Waterford; and evading all British cruisers he took his vessel safely back to New York and delivered his cargo to the Fenian organization there.

While Col. Burke was waiting in Ireland for the arrival of the *Jackmel*, which the passengers and captain had rechristened "Erin's Hope" while on the high seas, and hoisted the Irish republican tri-color, he spent his time among the resident gentry in Ireland as an amiable gentleman of leisure traveling for pleasure. His striking appearance, gentlemanly demeanor and charming personality aided him materially in carrying out the role which he had assumed; and he dined with the gentry at their request, hunted on their grounds, fished in their preserves and captivated three or more of the resident magistrates who were among those who extended to him invitations to dine and hunt and fish and enjoy life with them. He went so far as to make dinner engagements inviting them to dine with him, but made the dates so far distant that he expected to be out of the country before the appointed day.

At the trial of Augustine E. Costello and John Warren afterwards, from the testimony of a man named Buckley, who was aboard the *Jackmel*, the magistrates discovered the identity of their genial guest as Col. Burke, the leader of the Fenian organization. Of course, the Colonel did not wait to become genial host to his former hosts but went into hiding until he could safely leave the country and return to the United States.

ARREST, TRIAL AND CONVICTION

While organizing the Fenian organization in England Col. Burke boarded with an English lady who had two children, a girl aged about 12 years and a boy aged nine. When Col. Burke was arrested the police authorities were anxious to identify him as the man who had boarded in this house. During his stay in the house of this lady he had taught French to the children and all three were very much attached to him. When this lady was brought in to identify Col. Burke she looked squarely at him and immediately stated that he was "a stranger to her." Then the girl was taken to the cell to identify

him, and she went into hysterics and would not commit herself on the subject. When the boy was brought in he screamed "I don't know him! I don't know him! I don't know him!" and he could not be induced to depart from this statement.

Col. Burke told the writer of this article of another experience which he had during the time that the English police were looking for him before his arrest on November 20, 1867. He had to seclude himself in Manchester or the vicinity, and he was well acquainted with the wife of an inspector of police who was very favorably inclined towards the Fenians, as she was an Irish lady and naturally had Irish sympathies. He conceived the idea that the house of this inspector was the last place in Manchester where the police officials would be likely to look for him, so he made arrangements with the wife of the inspector to secrete him in her home, when the authorities were making renewed and repeated efforts to locate his hiding place.

Finally suspicion was aroused and over the protests of the inspector the authorities determined to search his house. Col. Burke learned from the inspector's wife the time of the proposed search, and she determined to find some place for his concealment. There was a large tank on the roof of the building filled with water for use in case of fire; and into this tank Col. Burke was directed to go and he remained there up to his neck in water while the police were searching the inspector's house over the vehement protests of the inspector and his wife. Of course the Colonel was not found in the house, although a complete and thorough search was made of every room. The Colonel took great delight in telling of incidents like this in his experience while evading the British police authorities. After the police had finished their fruitless search and left the house the inspector's wife furnished some hot coffee and other liquid stimulants and revived the spirits of the Colonel after his enforced cold bath in the water tank.

He was arrested on November 20, 1867, and taken to London for trial and taken to the House of Detention at Clerkenwell, where an attempt was made by the London Fenians on December 13, 1867, to rescue him from prison. A British spy who had worked himself into the confidence of the men engaged in this enterprise was responsible for the premature explosion at Clerkenwell, which killed 12 and wounded 120 people. The proposition was to blow a hole in the wall separating the exercise yard from the street during the time that Col. Burke would be exercising there and thus give him a chance to escape; but fortunately for him he was not in the yard at the time of the explosion and thus escaped injury.

He was tried in London on the charge of purchasing arms in England for the Fenians, was convicted and sentenced to fifteen years penal servitude. Although the government officials believed that he was responsible for planning the Clerkenwell explosion, they had no evidence to that effect; yet, their treatment of him during his confinement in prison showed that they believed him guilty.

While he was in Chatham prison in 1869 the prison doctor made an attempt to kill him by placing poison in his food; but he discovered it in time to thwart the attempt, and in order to escape from the ministrations of the doctor he feigned insanity and thus induced the officials to remove him to the Broadmoor Convict Lunatic Asylum. Among his fellow prisoners at Chatham were Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, Gen. William G. Halpin, Charles Underwood O'Connell, Capt. John McClure, John Devoy and Harry S. Mulleda.

Under the treatment of Dr. Burns, the prison physician who was administering this poison to him, Col. Burke recognized the symptoms, and having vomited the food which he had taken, he gave the stuff to the prison chaplain, Father Sullivan (cousin of T. D. Sullivan), to take to a chemist and have same analyzed without informing him what it was or what his purpose was in having the test made. The analysis showed conclusively the presence of a dose of poison, and Father Sullivan so reported to Col. Burke. Immediately Col. Burke feigned insanity, and succeeded so well in his pretense that his own comrades of the Fenian Brotherhood believed him insane until he afterwards explained to them the reasons for his pretense of insanity.

A royal commission of inquiry was afterwards organized to inquire into the treatment accorded the Fenian prisoners, and the animus of the prison officials was shown towards Col. Burke by the findings of this commission. The commission consisted of the Earl of Devon, Chairman; a Mr. Broderick, afterwards Secretary of State for War; Dr. Greenhow, an eminent London physician, and Dr. Lyons of Cork. The commission sat at Chatham, Portland and Woking where the Fenian prisoners were confined; and before this commission Dr. Burns testified that "Burke was the cleverest of all the Fenians, but his cleverness was that of a devil."

SUBSEQUENT CIVIL LIFE

Col. Burke was released from prison in 1872 and returned to Ireland, where he lived with a brother at Coachford, County Cork, for two years to recuperate his health which had been shattered during his imprisonment; after which he again came to the United States and for some time lectured in the Eastern States. He secured a posi-

tion as clerk in the War Department at Washington through the influence of Adjutant General Drum, who was an old friend and acquaintance during his period of service in the army. Upon his arrival in Washington he joined the Clan na Gael and continued an active and loyal member of that organization until his death.

In 1880 he took the stump for Garfield and during this campaign he met his wife at Fort Wayne, Indiana, and eloped with her to Washington, where they were married.

After the Garfield campaign he resigned his position, left Washington and went to Mexico in the employ of the Mexican National Construction Company and engineered the project of building a railroad from Laredo, via Monterey, to Mexico City.

After his return from Mexico he secured a position in Omaha, Nebraska, as Assistant City Engineer, which he held until 1884, when he obtained a position in the Map Department in the City of Chicago, and afterwards became Assistant City Engineer in 1887. He held this position until 1892 when he was appointed Superintendent of Sewers, which position he resigned in 1901 when he was appointed Assistant Harbor Engineer and served in that capacity until he became stricken with paralysis five years prior to his death.

THE REMNANT OF THE REBELS

Col. Burke was the last of the Fenians of 1867 who participated in the Fenian rising who resided in Chicago. There are only a few more of them living at present. Liam O'Callaghan, who was sworn into the Fenian organization in 1861 at Macroom, County Cork, Ireland, by Peter O'Riordan, still resides in Joliet, Illinois. He is now over 80 years of age. Dr. Carroll, who was connected with the movement as Sergeant Major, still resides in Philadelphia. He is near 90 years of age. John J. Cuniff, who was James Stephen's Secretary, resides in San Francisco; and George Sweeney resides in Cincinnati. John Devoy, editor of the *Gaelic American* of New York, who was sworn into the Fenian organization in 1861, and still retains his membership, wields a facile pen against the British government that held him in durance vile for five years for his activities in 1865 in swearing into the Fenian organization hundreds of the soldiers of the British army, and succeeded in creating mutiny in many regiments.

OBSEQUIES

After such a strenuous life the end came peacefully to Col. Burke at his home, 6311 North Paulina street, Chicago, on Thursday, May 11, 1922, and from that date until May 15, 1922 when his remains were

borne to Mount Olivet for interment, many of his old friends and acquaintances called at his home to pay their last respect to the Fenian veteran and American soldier and patriot. The funeral was held from St. Gertrude's Catholic Church, where Requiem High Mass was celebrated by the pastor, Rev. Bernard C. Heney. Rev. James M. Scanlon, pastor of our Lady of Lourdes, was deacon; Rev. Michael F. Kennealy, sub-deacon, and Rev. Francis X. McCabe, former President of De Paul University, Chicago, now of Kansas City, came to preach the funeral sermon. In the sanctuary were Right Rev. Thomas L. O'Reilly, Bishop of Lincoln, Nebraska; Rev. Edmund Byrnes, pastor of St. Sebastian's Church, Chicago, and Rev. Michael O'Sullivan, pastor of St. Brigid's Church, Chicago.

The active pall-bearers were Eugene F. O'Riordan, Dr. John M. Murphy, John E. Long, Capt. John D. McCarthy, David P. Murphy, John E. Sheridan, John J. Mahoney and Charles Callanan. The honorary pall-bearers were John Devoy of New York, Hon. Edward F. Dunne, ex-Governor of Illinois; Hon. Kickham Scanlan, Chief Justice of the Criminal Court; Hon. Daniel Ryan, President Cook County Board; Hon. Joseph P. Mahoney, David Herlihy, Dr. Alexander Pope, Capt. William J. Grace, Maj. Jeremiah S. Hyland, Capt. P. J. Gibbons, Hon. Patrick H. O'Donnell, Richard W. Wolfe, Hugh O'Neill, P. T. O'Sullivan, Daniel J. McMahon, Luke Colleran, John H. Harrington, Lieut. M. W. Delaney, National Director Ancient Order of Hibernians; Michael English, Thomas P. Bonfield, Daniel Donahoe, Martin Fleming, John Doody, John A. McGarry, and others.

As the coffin bearing the mortal remains of Col. Burke was taken from his home for burial, it was draped with the Stars and Stripes of the United States, under which he had fought for four years, and with the Green, White and Orange of the Irish Republic, which he had loved second only to the flag of his adopted country. The sidewalks and street in front of the house were lined with friends and acquaintances and active workers in the cause of Irish liberty, who had come to pay their last respects to their fallen comrade, who, as expressed in the text taken by Rev. Francis X. McCabe for his funeral sermon, "had fought the good fight; had kept the faith; and now I know there is laid up for me the crown which the Just Judge will give to me in that day." At the grave Rev. James M. Scanlon officiated and as the coffin was lowered into its final resting place the great crowd knelt and offered the last prayers for the dead.

In a nearby grave lies the remains of John T. Keating, an old friend of Col. Burke, and to this Father Scanlon led the mourners at the funeral and all knelt and offered a prayer for his soul. On Sunday

night before the funeral about a dozen present, who could speak and understand the Irish language, recited the Rosary in Irish, led by Matthew Harford, who read the prayers from an Irish prayer book; and those present joined in the responses in Irish.

Col. Burke leaves surviving him his widow, Nora Burke, and his daughter, Nellie Burke, who fondly nursed and carefully nourished him during his five years of sickness and partial paralysis. The aged veteran, who fought for the Union for four years during the Civil war, outwitted the British officials for months in their efforts to capture and punish him for his Fenian activities, and finally suffered five years' imprisonment in British dungeons for his Fenian operations against British rule in Ireland, and feigned lunacy in order to circumvent the efforts of the prison officials who endeavored to destroy him by administering poison in his food, presented a pathetic appearance during these five years of suffering and patient endurance in that bed of sickness awaiting the final summons. His valor in the field of action in defence of the liberties of his adopted country, his efficiency in the line of his duties in civil life, his devotion to the land of his birth, his loyalty to his comrades and his great desire to see his native land liberated from British rule and established into an independent republic, free from alien interference, and his patience and fortitude displayed during his long illness, exemplify the grandeur of his character, and his life stands forth as a light to all lovers of human liberty, assuring them that loyalty to a great cause and to his fellow-men—next to his love of God—is the bright gem in the diadem that may adorn the brow of a great citizen, a patriot, a soldier, a comrade and a friend; for such was that Fenian veteran and Union Army Engineer, Col. Ricard O'Sullivan Burke.

EUGENE F. O'RIORDAN.

Chicago.

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EDITORIAL COMMENT

Poisoning the Wells. Hon. James M. Graham, formerly of the House of Representatives of the United States, representing the Springfield-Illinois district, and one of the most distinguished lawyers in the West, as well as a leading American Catholic (Mr. Graham is First Vice President of the Illinois Catholic Historical Society), delivered an address at the tomb of Abraham Lincoln, in Springfield, Illinois, on July 4th of the present year, in which he forcefully discussed the subject of distortion of American history, particularly with respect to books which are being published for sale to public school boards, many of which are in use in the public schools. He also traced what has the appearance of a concerted movement to distort American history in magazines and other periodicals and the moving pictures. Mr. Graham is no radical or alarmist and yields to none in loyalty to the interests and institutions of the United States. A long life (he is now past sixty), untarnished by even the slightest breach of the duties and obligations of citizenship and resplendent of civic loyalty and devotion,

as well as an unspotted private life, has earned him the right to face the world and to have his convictions respected. Mr. Graham has shown beyond doubt a simultaneous movement, originating in different parts of the country, to discredit the early United States and the moving characters in the establishment of the United States, and to exalt Great Britain and the British. Whether this movement is the result of inspiration, conspiracy or venality, Mr. Graham does not claim to be able to determine, but he does state facts from which it is possible to conclude that the work is the result of some concerted action, with the appearance of having its origin with Englishmen or English sympathizers. That the propaganda of which Mr. Graham complains happens to have a British aspect is not of so much importance as that it should be used at all. It would be just as bad and no worse if it were German propaganda, or French propaganda, or Spanish, or that relating to any other nation or people. There is no merit in the view apparently held by some that it is in the interest of peace and concord that all past unpleasantness between peoples be forgotten. If that were so, a large part of the Bible ought to be eliminated, and all of the differences between the various tribes and nationalities obliterated. The evils as well as the virtues of peoples stand out as lessons to future generations, and a more perfect knowledge of history will make it easier to establish better relations along just lines. Who will deny that the easiest way for the German people, for example, to rehabilitate themselves in the graces and friendship of other nations, would be frankly to acknowledge their faults in connection with the great World war, and give assurances that it was their intention to avoid such a course in the future. In like manner, many distinguished public men in Great Britain understand that no progress toward pleasant relations between Great Britain and the United States can ever be made on any other assumption than that the British government was at fault in dealing with the colonies and the United States government prior to the Revolutionary war and until after the war of 1812. Accordingly, as Mr. Graham aptly said "any attempt (to distort facts in favor of Great Britain and against the United States), is a very sure way to interrupt peace between the two countries." We have reproduced Mr. Graham's address in full in this number and take pleasure in assuring our readers that it will well repay their persusal.

The First Families. References to the "first families," "the earliest citizens," the "first white child," etc., are numerous, especially in newspaper accounts. It is a notable fact, however, that information regarding the real first families, the earliest dwellers, and the first offspring is exceedingly scarce and inaccessible. When one stops to reflect it strikes him as strange that there is not a greater interest manifested in the natives and real first residents and possessors of our fair land,—the Indians. In plain words, what excuse is there for the lack of general information regarding the Indians. A few people have written, some of them extensively, on the subject, but their productions have been mere generalities;—the Indian did this, and did that. There were different families, and different tribes, but no one gets down to details and tells us when and where the Indian did anything in particular or what family or tribe of Indians occupied any particular territory, or who were the Indians, at least their chiefs and leading men. Hidden in unexpected corners of thousands of volumes may be found stray references to this, that or the other tribe or chief, but there has been no intelligent and connected account of the tens of thousands of red men who inhabited the territory now included within the boundaries of the state of Illinois.

We think it high time that some effective effort should be made to trace minutely the race to which we owe so much; indeed, all that we have of landed possessions, and make them known to the present and future generations.

The Marquette Anniversaries. Every day brings us closer to the 250th anniversary of Father Marquette's voyages and sojourns in Illinois. The saintly missionary first passed through Illinois during the months of August and September, 1673. The 250th anniversary of this journey will occur in the months of August and September, 1923, virtually one year distant. The only observance of this anniversary so far planned is that by the State Council of the Knights of Columbus, which will be held in Quincy in the early part of August, 1923. It does seem that there should be a state-wide observance of this momentous event. The next occurrence of first-class importance in connection with Father Marquette's appearance in Illinois was his landing from Lake Michigan on his second journey on December 4, 1674. This landing was effected at the mouth of the Chicago river, which was then located at what is now the east end of Madison street, Chicago. After remaining at the mouth of the river for several days Father Marquette passed up the main river and the south branch to what is now the junction of Robey street and the drainage canal, and lived in a cabin there until March 29 of the following year. This was the first time a white man sojourned in Chicago. During his stay the first Christian ministrations ever known to have taken place were enacted. The personnel, the occasion, and the conduct of this first white man all were of the highest and worthiest. The 250th anniversary of Marquette's landing at Chicago will occur on the 4th of December, 1924, a little more than two years from the present time. The Illinois Catholic Historical Society has adopted resolutions looking to the proper observance of this anniversary, and the rearing of a monument or memorial in honor and memory of the great event. The climax of Father Marquette's relations with Illinois occurred on the 11th of April, 1675, nothing less than the establishment of the Church in Illinois, and for the Illinois country, at what is now Utica, in La Salle County. The 250th anniversary of this stupendous event will occur on April 11, 1925. Nothing has yet been done in preparation for proper observance of this notable anniversary. Will the people of Illinois, and the Catholics especially, permit any of these anniversaries to pass without due observance?

The Earliest Missions. What was the most active center of Catholicity in the infancy of the Church in the United States? Should the perambulating reporter put that question to ten persons each day for a year, even were the persons approached Catholics, we believe that nine out of ten of them would say California. Some might say Florida, a few might mention Maryland, but it is doubtful if any could be found, unless some one who had carefully examined the matter, that would name Illinois. And yet it is an easily demonstrable fact that Illinois was practically the only early Church center in territory that became the United States that remained permanent; and so far as volume of activity is concerned surpassed all other early centers within that territory incomparably. True there were missions which antedated those of Illinois. Missionaries came to Florida in 1565; the missions overflowed into Maine from Canada before 1650; missionary endeavor begun in Maryland in 1634; the first missionaries came into California in 1683. As for Illinois, Father Marquette first visited the Illinois

country in 1673, and formally established the Church on the site of the present City of Utica on April 11, 1675. Considered from the standpoint of continuity it appears that the missions in Maine, Maryland and even in California were broken up or so interrupted as to virtually nullify their results within short periods after their establishment. Not so with the Illinois missions, which, from the date of their founding by Marquette in 1675, continued without a single break, and with only a very few temporary interruptions, from their founding to the present time. A full century and more of continuous missionary endeavor is properly accredited to the Illinois Church prior to the Revolutionary war. Nothing comparable with that may be said of any other mission in the United States. As for results, the statistics of baptisms amongst the savages contained in the letters of the Illinois missionaries overwhelmingly outnumber those shown in the records of any other of the United States missions. In like manner there have been nowhere outside of the reductions of South America and Mexico early settlements of civilized Indians at all comparable with Lavantum (the first Kaskaskia on the present site of Utica), or about Peoria lake, or about the later Kaskaskia on the river of that name in the present Randolph county. Then why should the impression prevail that Maine, California, Florida or Maryland was a more active Catholic center than Illinois? The answer is that these have had a wider hearing. Greater publicity in this country has always been accorded Eastern occurrences of every character, which accounts for the greater popularity of the Eastern missions. As for California the ruins or the remains of the mission Churches are and have been visible proofs of missionary activity, and have created a more vivid and more general impression than that given by the written and largely inaccessible record of missionary endeavor in Illinois. It is a matter of some satisfaction that the *Illinois Catholic Historical Society*, aided and sustained by other Catholic societies and generous individual Catholics, is making known through the columns of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW and otherwise the glorious missionary history of Illinois.

Adopting a Constitution. Touching upon a question of current history, viz., the struggle for the adoption of a constitution by what is known as the parliament of the free state of Ireland, and aware that the deliberations of the Dail Errain would become a part of world history, it is interesting to note that a much greater contest occurred over the adoption of the constitution of the United States. The great struggle for the adoption of the American constitution has been forcefully and interestingly brought to our minds through the monumental work of Senator Beveridge of Indiana, treating of the life and times of Chief Justice John Marshall. An address delivered at the College of William and Mary at Williamsburg, Va., in January of this year, by former Chief Justice of the Court of Appeals of New York, Alton B. Parker, has also pointedly detailed this contest. After reciting the manner of formulation of the constitution Mr. Parker in his address tells of the struggle to have the constitution ratified by the several states. Without a familiarity with conditions as they then existed, it is difficult for us to understand why the great patriot, Patrick Henry, to whose eloquence, largely, we owe our independence, should be the chief opponent of the constitution. Thinking in parallels the attitude of Patrick Henry then resembles the attitude of Eamon de Valera now. Speaking of Henry's opposition Parker says: "Patrick Henry, with his great eloquence, known to every school boy of the land

from that day to this, was the leader in the mighty struggle against ratification. Edmund Randolph, then the governor of Virginia, and afterwards President Washington's first attorney general, a most popular man and an eloquent debater, was the flower of the speaking force favoring ratification." The chief struggle occurred in Virginia. Senator Beveridge says that "while the defense of the constitution had been very able in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, and later in New York was to be most brilliant, the attack upon it in the Virginia convention was nowhere equalled or approached in power, learning and dignity. Extravagant as the assertion appears, it nevertheless is true that the Virginia contest was the only real debate over the whole constitution. It far surpassed, especially in presenting the reasons against the constitution, the discussion of the Federal convention itself, in weight of argument and attractiveness of presentation, as well as in the ability of the debaters." Mr. Parker points with pride to the success attained under the constitution, showing how admirably it is adapted both to peace and war, and approves the declaration of Gladstone to the effect that the constitution of the United States is "the greatest work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man." Every work of human minds or hands has its faults and imperfections, and the constitution of the United States is of course no exception, but while it represents the accumulated wisdom and best intent of the people who are the makers of the constitution, it is amenable to alteration by the people in order that faults may be corrected and defects eliminated. In the meantime men of good judgment agree with Mr. Parker when he says that the Federal constitution is "the pride of every intelligent and patriotic American," and an admirable vehicle of administration or governmental agency for sustaining all those who desire the right and the holding in check or punishing those who would do wrong.

Annual Meeting.—The fifth annual meeting of the Illinois Catholic Historical Society will be held in the Assembly Hall of the Quigley Memorial Seminary Monday, December 11, 1922, at 8 p. m. Most Rev. Archbishop Mundelein, Right Rev. Edward F. Hoban and other prominent priests and laymen will be present and participate. Everybody wishing to attend will be welcome.

BOOK REVIEWS

First National Third Order Convention, U. S. A. Published by order of the general directive Board, Edited by Father Hilorian Duerk, O. F. M.

The comprehensive report of the First National Third Order Convention, U. S. A., published under that title, is a volume of nearly 1,000 pages, but by no means unwieldy or inconvenient. It is much more, however, than an ordinary formal report of an important meeting, for it not only gives in more or less detail the history and development of the Third Order of St. Francis, but makes the reader acquainted with the great representatives of the order, past and present.

There are no doubt many who know absolutely nothing of the Third Order, and this statement from the eloquent address of Rev. Father Bede Hess, O. M. C., of Trenton, N. J., on the subject of the Third Order and the Lay-Apostolate will be interesting:

“With its spirit of individual and social reform it enters all classes of society. Men and women, youths and maidens, boys and girls fourteen years or over, the rich and the poor, the cultured and the uncultured, the professor and his scholar, the employer and his employe, the priest and the Faithful, the superior and the subordinate, all may and should be enrolled in its membership and girded with the penitential cord of the St. Assisi. It is all-comprehensive, and reaches every class-distinction of human society. By its self same rule of life for all it preaches the gospel of true equality of all men before God, before the God-Man, before the Church of God and before the tribunal of conscience. It teaches most emphatically that before these there are no class privileges. It is, therefore, ‘the brotherhood of men under one God, their Father,’ which is the motive of the lay-apostolate.” (page 448)

The First National Third Order Convention, U. S. A., was held in Chicago October 2, 3, 4, 1921.

A very large number of people took part in this meeting and made many speeches or preached sermons all upon one theme, the Third Order. One would naturally suppose that a three-day program of that character would grow prosy, but a reading of the book will disclose that the interest grew as the time lengthened.

Quotations from the programs of two sessions will readily indicate why the proceedings held the interest. Here is what occurred on Sunday afternoon, October 2: Opening address, Hon. Anthony Matre, K. S. G.; Address of Welcome, Most Rev. George W. Mun-

delein, D. D.; The Tertiary Centenary, Most Rev. Edward J. Hanna, D. D.; United Tertiary Effort, Hon. W. Bourke Cochran, K. C. G.

And here is the program that was presented at the "Men's Meeting," Monday afternoon, October 3. After the presentation of the question of The Divorce Evil, by Bishop Byrne, and a general discussion, Socialism and the Third Order was presented by David Goldstein; The Social Influence of the Third Order, by Dr. Felix Gauden; The Missionary Spirit of St. Francis, Hon. Joseph Scott; Francis of Assisi, Saint and Poet, by Hon. Maurice Francis Egan, LL. D.; The Historical Background of the Third Order, by Dr. James J. Walsh.

These addresses as well as all other proceedings of the convention are printed in full in the book, and we do not hesitate to state that a single one of them is worth the price of the book.

A reading of this book (we have read it with great pleasure) shows that it is the belief of the clergy and laity, shared by the hierarchy, that the Third Order of St. Francis should be made better known. And we are convinced that if it were known as described in this convention, or even half of what may be said of it were generally known, thousands of devout Catholics would seek to enroll themselves. Anyone who wants to know about the Third Order of St. Francis should read this publication.

The Jesuits, 1534-1921. A History of the Society of Jesus from its Foundation to the Present Time. By Rev. Thomas J. Campbell, S. J., The Encyclopedia Press, New York.

In his volume, "The Jesuits," Rev. Thomas J. Campbell, S. J., has scored a success. The writer's difficult problem was to condense the 400 years' history of the large and active Order of the Jesuits into a single uncrowded volume, printed in readable type, and free from prolixity.

People having no acquaintance with the Order can hardly realize that so many important events in the world's history have centered around or been closely related to the Jesuits. The central purposes of the Order—education and missionary work—brought them in contact, and repeatedly, in conflict, with all peoples and institutions in any degree opposed to Christian doctrines or to the Catholic Church. They were no more stubbornly opposed by charlatans and manitous of savage races than they were by the corrupt and venal amongst the civilized. Often their opponents in the civilized ranks falsely and fraudulently based their opposition on the pretense of fidelity to the Church, and under the guise of protection to the Church won more or

less support in their opposition from the indiscriminating. Such were Pombal, Choiseul, Charles III of Spain,—Squillace, Florida Blanca, Aranda, Tannuci Orsmii, Azpura and others, whose nefarious machinations have made their names execrable in the history of states and nations; indeed, no one can read the story of "The Jesuits" or that of the Church itself even, without realizing that the most poignant sorrows and the greatest injuries inflicted upon both the Order and the Church were the results of the treachery and conspiracy of black-hearted masqueraders posing as loyal sons of Holy Mother Church, but in reality vilifiers, traitors and malefactors.

Some respect may be felt for those who stood out boldly and opposed the Church, its teachings, its work and its ministry, including all orders and divisions. Nothing but contempt, however, can be felt for the hypocrites who used their position or influence in the Church for the purposes of deception, the furtherance of private ends, and as an instrumentality of vengeance.

The dark side of the Jesuit picture, as drawn by Father Campbell, reveals numberless martyrdoms, inconceivable suffering, every hardship and privation to which human beings could be subjected, and incomprehensible labors. The bright side exhibits the lives and deeds of a galaxy of consecrated men, such as may be found nowhere else in the history of the world. Ignatius, Xavier, Francis Borgia, Acquaviva, Ricci, Roothan, Bellarmine, Campion, Francis Regis, John Berchmans, John Casimir, Peter Claver, Plowden, Kostka, Jogues, Brebeuf, Marquette, DeSmet and thousands, yes, tens of thousands of other Christian luminaries, intellectual giants, popular champions, master scholars, unexcelled teachers, and, finally, model citizens and men compose the Order.

Throughout its history the Order is to be loved for the enemies it has made. It is only in recent years that we have been enabled to view in perspective the friends and enemies of the Society of Jesus. Time is drawing the contrast, and while the blackest pages of history are themselves disfigured by the men who have ranged themselves in opposition to the Order, the record of every advance, of every benevolence, of every movement in the interest of humanity, of every yearning for better things and heavenly reward is adorned by the names of Jesuits, who are shown to be, if not the prime movers, at least amongst the most effective of the proponents.

Were not Father Campbell so modest in the presentation of his subject, one might be inclined to think that at last the Order had broken away from its traditional policy of silence and seclusion. All down through the ages the great men who guided the destinies of the

Order have insisted upon a policy of silence and non-resistance to calumnies and persecution—hence the blatant could quite generally feel secure in publishing almost any sort of falsehood concerning the Order; and while Father Campbell's book is not a departure from this policy, the naked story which he tells is a concrete refutation of well nigh every slander that has been uttered against the Society.

The average man shuns danger and discomfort. The history of **the Society of Jesus** proves that the Jesuit seeks them; not that he relishes either better than others, but that he is consecrated to a cause which bids him dare and endure. Accordingly, wherever human beings may be found, all over the habitable globe, there is, or has been, or will be, the Jesuit:—the icy wastes of the extreme arctic, and the burning sands of the equator are alike his fields of endeavor, and wherever the most violent or pestilential of the human family exists there he penetrates, and pawns his health and strength, even his life.

The story of the missions as set down by Father Campbell, without elaboration or ornamentation, is absolutely fascinating. The reader will be surprised that a work of such broad compass and at the same time of such brevity can contain so much of the individual lives and experiences of individual missions and missionaries. Not only is the European field completely covered, but we can follow the author to China, Japan, Hindustan, North and South America, all the islands of the seas, and will find as faithful an account of missionary endeavor in our own country as that of any other.

A work like that of Father Campbell was badly needed, even assuming that none but Jesuits and friends of the Jesuits will ever read it, for it is a fair presumption that few members of the Order even, and perhaps none outside the Order, know the Society as it may be learned from Father Campbell's book.

What is here said is in all respects an unbiased judgment. Anyone with an open mind will concede every statement here made, and in so doing need not place the Jesuit Order above other orders, or, in any sense, in conflict or comparison with the Church itself. The Order is one of the agencies of the Church, and is fully entitled to all the credit that has been accorded it, and it is wholly unnecessary to enter upon comparisons. Those who understand and appreciate the situation need only be thankful that such an effective instrumentality as the Order exists, and rejoice that it is not the only effective agency to such ends.

There never was, of course, a perfect book. Volumes of criticism of the Bible even have been written, and the critical will perhaps find inadvertances, and possibly, some errors. One reviewer says that

“the unfortunate part is that Father Campbell seems to have approached his theme too much in the spirit of a cinema playwright.” In other words, is guilty of having made the story too interesting. We think most readers will forgive Father Campbell for that dereliction. The same reviewer finds a few real errors which may easily be inadvertances. We have always regretted that Father Campbell does not use foot note references in his writings. It is true that he usually refers to his authority, especially upon controverted questions in the text. It is also true that documenting is laborious, and besides, adds to the difficulty of the publisher, and perhaps to the expense of publication, but documentation gives a sort of sense of authority and security, and besides introduces the reader to the entire field explored by the author.

It is worthy of note in connection with this noteworthy work, as well as with other undertakings of the sort, which are all too rare, that it is much better to have attempted the work and succeeded as well as has Father Campbell than to stand on the side lines and lament that a perfect work has not been produced, and criticise disparagingly efforts, which are at least worthy, prepared by some one else.

J. J. T.

MISCELLANY

Early Church in Missouri and Illinois

THE DISTINGUISHED BARBER FAMILY.

(A letter from Mgr. Rosati, Bishop of St. Louis, to the Editor of the *Annales*.)
Sir:

I received your letter written last August; the Masses, with which you charged me, will be said by a number of priests. I sent one hundred and fifty to Father Paillason, and distributed the others to other priests, and will write to the seminary today to have those said, which you sent to Father Odin. You must have already seen the latter, and he without doubt gave you the letters, which I wrote you and also all the details which you desire. I will add a few more here, which will show you the state of my diocese at the end of this year.

We have twenty-one churches, of which sixteen are in the state of Missouri, and five in Illinois; we are now building three of stone; last year we also built three of stone and intend to build five more very soon. In my diocese there are thirty-one parishes of Catholics, twenty, in the state of Missouri, nine in Illinois, and two in Arkansas. Nineteen of these Parishes have Churches; St. Louis has two, consequently eleven have none. Mass is said in private houses where the Catholics assemble. Thirteen of them have resident priests, fourteen received the visits of a priest, one is vacant because I have no one to send them, and four were established last year. There are thirty-six priests including myself; three of us died last year, I ordained two, one of whom was born in this country, the other is French; three of them came to us and four left other dioceses. Twenty-two of these priests are employed in the ministry, sixteen are in the colleges, seminaries and communities, ten are Lazarists; there are eleven Jesuits and fifteen do not belong to any community. I have three priests and eleven clerks at the seminary and two at the college of the Propaganda at Rome.

In my diocese besides the seminary there are two colleges who have the privilege of conferring a degree. That of the Jesuits at St. Louis has about one hundred boarders and sixty day scholars; the Lazarists at Barrones have one hundred and twenty five boarders and very few day scholars being in the country.

There are three communities of men; the Lazarists at Barrones, the Jesuits at St. Louis, and the Jesuits at St. Ferdinand, where they have their noviciate.

There are ten religious communities of women; three of the ladies of the Sacred Heart, four of the Sisters of Loretta, and two of the Sisters of Charity; one of the Sisters of the Visitation; two orphan asylums, one for boys and one for girls and the hospital. In all these different houses, there are sixty nine religious, among whom are twenty-two of the Sacred Heart, twenty-seven of the Sisters of Loretta, twelve of the Sisters of Charity, and eight Religious of the Visitation; twenty orphan boys and twenty-three orphan girls. Three of these Religious houses were founded last year, and three more will be founded this year. Since my return from Baltimore, I gave the habit to four Religious, two of Loretta, one of the Visitation, and one of the Sacred Heart.

The details which I am going to give you about a young woman, who received the habit of Religious of the Visitation at Cascastus, (Kaskaskia)

are very interesting. Her name is Josephine Barber; she is the last of the children of Mr. Virgile Barber and of Jerusha Barber, his wife. Mr. Barber, once an Episcopalian minister, is now a Jesuit and priest; Madam Jerusha Barber, his wife, is now a Religious in the convent in the Visitation of Georgetown. They had five children, four daughters and one son. After the conversion of their parents, all of the children embraced the religious state and Providence allowed them to make an even greater sacrifice in disposing of each individual of this family in a different town; the father at Frederick Town; the mother at George Town, District of Columbia; and of the four daughters, one was at Quebec, the other at Trois-Rivieres in Canada; a third at Boston, Mass., and a fourth at Cascasius, (Kaskaskia) Illinois, and the boy is at Rome where he is a Jesuit.

The story of the conversion of Mr. Barber and his wife is as striking as that of the Christians of the first century of the Church. Very talented and possessing a wonderful education, they led very pure lives, and were sincerely religious. The many sects in the United States often caused them to reflect painfully on this subject and they finished having doubts as to their own religion. Souls as cultivated and intelligent as those of Mr. and Mrs. Barber could not help but understand that truth is one and undivisible, and that consequently the doctrine and the Church of Jesus Christ must have this quality. They redoubled their ardor in trying to learn the truth, and resolved to embrace our doctrine and enter into the Church as soon as they had learned it well. The prejudices of their education and the false representations which have been made against the Church, and which are so often repeated among the Protestants kept them from turning to us. In an interview which Mr. Barber had with his father, who was also a Protestant minister, and who was searching for the truth, they decided to examine the dogmas of the Catholic Church. Mr. Barber told his wife of this, who approved of his plan, and advised him to get in touch with the Catholic priest. With this idea in mind, he went to New York, and had a great many conversations with the worthy administrator of the diocese, who is now a bishop of Boston, Mgr. Fenwick, his prejudices and doubts ceased, and the truth seemed so evident to him, that he resolved to become a Catholic; this he did with his wife without dreaming of the sacrifices which he would be obliged to make. After being a Catholic for some time, he began to wish to lead a more perfect life, and after obtaining the consent of his wife who had the same desire, he entered into the community of the Jesuits; their example was followed after that by all of their children. The old father of Mr. Barber, having himself embraced the Catholic Religion, showed himself worthy of being a patriarch of this family. Being too old to become a priest, he felt honored to receive minor orders, and devote his life to the conversion of others to the Religion. The family of the sister of Mr. Barber had almost the same happiness. Four young women of this family became members of the Sisters of Charity, their oldest brother is a priest in the Diocese of Boston, and two other younger brothers applying themselves to the study for the priesthood.

I will give you news of Father Rioux in another letter; he is at the border of the state among the savages.

I am, etc. JOSEPH, Bishop of St. Louis.

(Annales For the Propagation of Faith,
7th Tome, Page 168.)

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THE CAHOKIA MISSION PROPERTY

Nestling in the midst of an extensive level stretch, flat, it might be called,—once it was a prairie,—are to be found a church and school, some little shops, stores rather, and a few dwellings, with the marks of time upon them, which collectively are known by the name of Cahokia. This hamlet now, whether at one time it was city, town or village, lies in the extreme west center of the state of Illinois, less than four miles south, slightly west of south, from East St. Louis, and is reached after a short ride on an electric interurban car. One must look sharp from the window of the car, however, lest he be whisked past the little settlement, without realizing that he had reached it.

If Cahokia presents but an insignificant appearance at present it may nevertheless claim numerous distinctions. In the first place it is perhaps entitled to lay claim to being the oldest continuous settlement in Illinois, and that means in all of Mid-America. It is true that the first place that white men settled down in Illinois was within the Kaskaskia Indian village, near what is now Starved Rock and Utica, in the present La Salle county. This settlement was begun soon after Father Marquette's visit in 1675. Within the next ten years more white men, including perhaps those that settled near the Kaskaskia village, might be found in and about what is now Peoria, but after some years these settlements were broken up, and though re-established, they did not remain continuous.

The settlement at Cahokia unquestionably dates as early as 1699,

and though the population has greatly fluctuated, there never since has been a time when the settlement was completely abandoned.¹

As this paper proceeds other distinctions due Cahokia will be pointed out.

In the last quarter of the seventeenth century Cahokia was the site of an Indian village, in which dwelt one of the tribes of the Illinois Indians, known by the name of Cahokia. Later another of the Illinois tribes, known as the Tamaroa joined the Cahokia, and continued to reside in the vicinity. Accordingly, in the early days the region was known both as Tamaroa and Cahokia.

As is well known Rev. James Marquette, S. J., made his memorable voyage of discovery with Jolliet in the summer of 1673, and passed the site of the Cahokia and Tamaroa perhaps in early July of that year. Alvord says in a note: "Possibly Fathers Marquette and Gravier had visited here." (*The Illinois Country*, p. 116.)

Father Marquette was succeeded by Rev. Claude Jean Allouez, S. J., he by Rev. Sebastien Rale, S. J., and he by Rev. James Gravier. We have found nothing to indicate that either Father Allouez or Father Rale was at any time in touch with the Tamaroa or Cahokia, but there is excellent reason for believing that Father Gravier, who was on the Illinois River from about 1693 to 1706, most of the time in the neighborhood of Peoria, was in touch with these two tribes.²

The first missionary who actually labored amongst them, however, was Rev. Pierre Francois Pinet, S. J. Father Pinet established the Mission of the Guardian Angel near the mouth of the Chicago River, which was then at what is now the end of Madison Street and Lake Michigan, Chicago, in 1696. This was a very flourishing mission, but for some reason its location or its work was displeasing to the French governor, Frontenac, who interfered with the missionaries so severely as to break up the mission in 1697. The Jesuits appealed to the Bishop of Quebec, however, who, in turn, appealed to Frontenac, and

¹ Citing Margry *de Couvertes et Estblissement* 4: 364, Alvord says that the 19 men who went with Tonti on his Southern trip in 1700 were married and lived at Cahokia. On this occasion the party reached Biloxi on February 16, 1700. He also says that the Fathers of the Foreign Missions, and also Father James Gravier, S. J., were with Tonti on this occasion. See the *Illinois Country*, p. 128. A memoir from New France contains an account of 47 *Coueurs de Bois* at Cahokia "living there at their ease. As grain thrives in that region they have built a mill and have a great many cattle." Alvord, *Illinois Country*, p. 138.

² See reference to Father Gravier's visit in Father Cosme's letter herewith reproduced.

the Mission of the Guardian Angel was re-established, but to be again broken up in 1699.³

At some time apparently during the existence of the Guardian Angel Mission Father Pinet proceeded to the region of the Cahokia and Tamaroa Indians, and established there as early as 1699 a Jesuit Mission which became the nucleus of the white settlement that from that time forward grew up amongst the Indians, and formed the settlement or town which became, and has ever since remained Cahokia.

In the absence of more specific data the question of priority between the Jesuits and the Fathers of the Foreign Missions in the Cahokia district is difficult, and the fact that the Fathers of the Foreign Missions, when they came through Chicago in 1699, found Father Pinet at the Angel Guardian Mission, and found that mission still flourishing, remembered in connection with the further fact that when these same fathers reached the Cahokia and Tamaroa region, they found a mission already established there by Father Pinet, presents a genuine riddle.

In view of this confusion one is inclined to believe that Father Pinet must have established the mission at Cahokia during the time that he was compelled to abandon the Mission of the Guardian Angel in Chicago. Some color is given to this thought by statements in the letter of authority of the Bishop of Quebec to the Seminary of Foreign Missions, to establish a mission amongst the Tamaroa, which is here reproduced. In the course of the letter the bishop states that, although he had formerly, on the first day of May, 1698, granted the power and privilege of establishing missions along the Mississippi, representations having been made to him "that it may so happen that other missionaries, not members of their institute, might perhaps pretend—under letters patent heretofore granted by us, to exclude them from the right of settling themselves and establishing missions among the Indian tribe called Tamarois," he reiterates and confirms the right which he granted by letter of May 1, 1698. One's surmise would be that the Fathers of the Foreign Missions had learned that Father Pinet had established, or was about to establish, a Jesuit mission amongst the Cahokia or Tamaroa, and appealed to the bishop for new or greater authority to claim that territory.

At any rate, it will be seen that the Jesuits, through Father Pinet, had established the mission before the arrival of the Fathers of the

³ Letter of Father Gravier to Bishop Lavelle. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 65, p. 53.

Foreign Missions and that a dispute was waged as to the right of the jurisdiction, which was eventually settled by the bishop in favor of the Fathers of the Foreign Missions.⁴

PRELIMINARIES TO THE SEMINARY ESTABLISHMENT

Having indicated the preceding situation and circumstances, we may now pass to the establishment of the Cahokia or Tamaroa foundation.

As has already been intimated, the Bishop of Quebec, Rt. Rev. Jean Baptiste St. Valier, authorized the Seminary of Foreign Missions to establish missions along the Mississippi River by Letters patent of May 1, 1698, and, as before noted also, the Fathers applied for further credentials or a confirmation of the former authorization, which the bishop gave in form as follows:

AUTHORITY CONFERRED BY THE BISHOP OF QUEBEC

“Jean Baptiste by the Grace of God and of the Holy Apostolical See, Bishop of Quebec in New France, to all to whom these presents shall come sends Greeting and Benediction:

Although by our Letters Patent bearing date the first day of May of the present year sixteen hundred and ninety-eight, We have granted to the Superiors and Directors of the ‘Seminare des Missions Etrangeres de Quebec’ (Seminary of Foreign Missions at Quebec) ample power to settle themselves and establish missions, among the tribes that are living on both sides of the river Mississippi and all along the banks of the said River and its tributaries which are the inroads to those countries; however on the representations made to us that it may so happen that other Missionaries not members of their institute might perhaps pretend,—under Letters Patent heretofore granted by Us, to exclude them from the right of settling themselves and establishing missions among the Indian tribe called ‘Tamarois’—which is living on that tract of land situate between that part of the country inhabited by the nation of the ‘Illinois’ and that of the ‘Arkansas,’ which would be a cause of great annoyance to the missions of the said Superior and Directors of the said Seminary of Foreign Missions of Quebec, inasmuch as that part of the country inhabited by the Indian tribe hereinabove called Tamarois is to a certain extent the key and the necessary route enabling one to reach

⁴ The solution of the commencement of the Jesuit Mission at what became Cahokia may be that during the absence of Father Pinet’s Indian congregation from Chicago in the season when they left on their hunts, Father Pinet may have gone down to the Illinois River and worked among the Cahokia and Tamarois. Father St. Cosme in the letter herewith reproduced states this fact. Dr. Alvord gives a well reasoned account of the establishment of the mission at Cahokia and the dispute on its settlement. See the *Illinois Country*, pp. 115–119.

the tribes further in the interior, and facilitating the access to them, and that in consequence, it is of great importance for the said Seminary of Foreign Missions to be able to establish in those countries called 'Tamarois' some residences and to hold missions there, We, being determined to remove every obstacle that might prevent the execution of the praiseworthy undertaking that the said Superior and Directors of the said Seminary have at heart to preach the Gospel in and through all those countries hereinabove described, have given them and do hereby give them by these presents the permission to send Missionaries among the Tamarois Indians and to make there such settlements and residences and hold such missions as they may think proper.

Accordingly we hereby confirm all the powers, privileges and permissions by us granted unto the said Superior and Directors of the said Seminary of Foreign Missions of Quebec by Our said Letters Patent of the first day of May of the present year and generally everything contained in the said Letters Patent.

Given at Quebec this fourteenth day of July sixteen hundred and ninety eight under our hand and that of Our Secretary and sealed with our seal at Arms.'"

Thus was the authority of the spiritual power conferred upon the Seminary of Foreign Missions. In the regular course under the system of government it was necessary to have also the authorization of the temporal power, and for that purpose the following document was issued by the French governor:

LEAVE GRANTED BY THE FRENCH GOVERNOR

"Louis de Baude, Count de Frontenac, Governor and Lieutenant-General for the King in all Northern France.

The desire expressed to us by the Reverend de Montigny, Vicar General of His Lordship the Bishop of Quebec, to go and preach the Gospel in the name of the Quebec Seminary, those countries where the Missionaries have not yet made any settlements, although those who have travelled in those parts, have noticed that there existed such a disposition to obedience in the minds of the Indian tribes who inhabit those countries, that they have entertained great hopes of being capable of making considerable progress there, if they were only a little helped and assisted with instructions; and the entreaties which Their Lordships the Bishops who are in this country have added praying us not to oppose granting for Our part all the assistance that may facilitate the performance of such a pious design, we have thought that we could not better fulfil the duties of Our office

* Authentic copies of this and many following letters and documents are found in the Archives of the diocese of Belleville, all of which have been transcribed and compared at the instance of Rev. Frederick Bueckman of Belleville, Illinois.

and correspond with the intentions of His Majesty who urged on by a zeal worthy of a Most Christian King, and of the elder son of the Church, who, in all his conquests looks more to the aggrandizement of the empire of Jesus Christ than to the extension of the limits of his own Kingdom, but co-operate with all Our might to the achievement of this holy enterprise; Therefore, their Lordships the Bishops having represented to us that the Reverend Gentlemen of the Quebec Seminary, offered their services to commence the enterprise, and that the Reverend de Montigny and Messrs Davion and de St. Cosme were desirous of devoting themselves to the same if we were willing to grant unto them the permission of going in those distant countries with the number of men that they have thought absolutely necessary to guide them among the Indian tribes that inhabit the shores of the River Mississippi, and to help and assist them in settling the establishment that they desire to make in the part of the Country they may think the most proper and the most convenient for the success of their enterprise, we have, subject to His Majesty's good pleasure, allowed the said Reverend Missionaries to start from Montreal when they may think proper to do so in four canoes manned by twelve men whose names they have given to us to proceed to Missilimakinack and from thence continue their route until they have reached the Mississippi; And we give permission to the said Reverend Missionaries to load in their canoes their stores and other articles they may require for their subsistence maintenance and settlement; And we are more so voluntarily disposed to help them, that we are persuaded that there is no human motive mixed with the intentions of the Reverend Missionaries, they having only in view the glory of God and the desire to propagate the Faith; We order to all those over whom our authority extends and request all others, to allow the said Reverend Missionaries to pass and repass safely and freely with their four loaded canoes and their crews without causing them any hindrance, but on the contrary to give them all the help, favor and assistance promising to render the same under similar circumstances.

In testimony whereof we have signed this present passport and have caused to be thereto affixed our seal at arms, and caused the same to be countersigned by one of our secretaries at Three Rivers this 17th July 1698.

(L. S.) (Signed) "FRONTENAC"
and under by His Lordship
(Signed) "DE MONSEIGNAT."*

Full authority being conferred the Fathers selected, namely, Rev. François Jolliet Montigny, Superior, Rev. François Buisson de St. Cosme and Rev. Anthony Davion, set out upon their journey from Quebec to the Illinois country.⁷

* Diocesan Archives of Belleville.

⁷ See St. Cosme's letter following.

These learned priests planned, and skillfully executed their journey, and each wrote letters, which have been preserved, entering upon more or less detail with reference to their work, the most interesting and most detailed of which was that of Father St. Cosme, which is of such absorbing interest that we feel justified in reproducing it in full:

LETTER OF M. JEAN FR^S. BUISSON DE ST. COSME, PRIEST OF THE
SEMINARY OF QUEBEC

“In the Arkansas country, this
2nd January 1699.

“My Lord:

The last letter that I had the honor of writing to you was from Michilimakinac, whence we started on the fourteenth of September, journeying overland to meet our canoe, which had rounded the Pointe aux Iroquois and had gone to wait for us at the village of the Outaouacs, which village contains about three hundred men. God grant that they may respond to the care taken and the labors performed by the Reverend Jesuit Fathers for their instruction; but they seem less advanced in Christianity than the Illinois; who, we are told, have only recently had missionaries. We left that village on the 15th of September to the number of eight canoes; four for the River of the Miamis under the Sieur de Vincenne; our three canoes and that of Monsieur de Tonty, who, as I have already written you in my last, had resolved to accompany us to the Acanceas. I cannot sufficiently express, my lord, the obligations we owe him. He conducted us to the Acanceas; he procured us much pleasure during the voyage; he greatly facilitated our passage through many nations, securing us the friendship of some and intimidating others—I mean the nations who through jealousy or the desire to pillage us sought to oppose our passage. He not only did his duty as a brave man but he also performed those of a zealous missionary, entering into all our views, exhorting the savages everywhere to pray and to listen to the missionaries. He soothed the minds of our servants in their petty whims; he supported by his example the devotional exercises that the journey allowed us to perform and frequently approached the sacraments.

It would be useless for me, my lord, to give you a description of Lake Mietpgan, on which we embarked on leaving the fort of the Outaouacs. This route is fairly well known. We should have gone by the south side, which is much finer than the north, but as it is the route usually followed by the Iroquois, who, not long before, had made an attack on the soldiers and savages proceeding to the country of the Miamis, this compelled us to take the north side, which is not so agreeable nor so well stocked with game, though it is easier, I believe, in the autumn because one is sheltered from the northwest winds. On the 21st of the month we reached the traverse of the Bay of the Puants, which is distant forty leagues from Michilimakinac. We camped on an island called L'Isle du Detour because at that spot

the lake begins to trend to the south. We were windbound on that island for six days, during which our people occupied themselves in setting nets and caught great quantities of white fish which are excellent eating and a very plentiful manna that fails not along that lake, where there is a dearth of meat almost all the time.

On the 28th we crossed from island to island. The Bay of the Puants is about twenty or thirty leagues long. One passes on the right hand another small bay called that of the Noquest. The Bay of the Puants is inhabited by several savage tribes; the Noquest, the Folles Avoine, the Renards (Fox), the Poutouatamis and the Saki (Sauk). The Jesuit Fathers have a mission at the bottom of that bay. We should have liked very much to pass by the bottom of that bay and it would have greatly shortened our journey. A small river has to be ascended wherein there are only three leagues of rapids and which is about sixty leagues long; then by means of a short portage one reaches the River Ouiskonsin (Wisconsin), which is a very fine one, and by going down it one takes only two days to reach the Micissipi. In truth there is a distance of two hundred leagues from the spot where this river falls into the Micissipi to the place where the River of the Illinois discharges into the same Micissipi; the current, however is so strong that the distance is sooner passed. But the Renards, who live on that little river that one ascends on leaving the bay to reach Ouiskinsin, will not allow any persons to pass lest they might go to the Sioux, with whom they are at war, and consequently have already pillaged several Frenchmen who tried to go that way. This compelled us to take the route by way of Chikagou.

On the 29th of September we arrived at the village of the Pous (Pottawatomi), distant about twenty leagues from the crossing of the bay. There had formerly been a very large village here, but after the death of the chief a portion of the savages had gone to live in the bay and the remainder were preparing to go there when we passed. We stopped in that village. On the 30th we purchased some provisions which we needed. We started on the 31st and on the 4th of October we came upon another small village of Poux, on a small river, where Reverend Father Marais (Marest) had spent the winter with some Frenchmen and had planted a cross (apparently on the present site of Manitowoc). We stayed there for the remainder of the day. We left on the 5th and after being windbound for two days we started and after two days of heavy wind we reached Milouakik (Milwaukee) on the 9th. This is a river where there is a village which has been a large one, consisting of Mascoutins, of Renards, and also of some Poux. We stayed there two days, partly on account of the wind and partly to recruit our men a little, because there is an abundance of duck and teal in the river.

On the eleventh of October we started early in the morning from the fort of Milouakik, and at an early hour we reached Kipikaoui (the present site of Racine at the mouth of the Root River), about eight leagues farther. Here we separated from Monsieur de Vincenne's party, which continued on its route to the Miamis. Some savages had

led us to hope that we could ascend this river and after a portage of about two leagues might ascend by another river called Pesiou (present Fox River of Illinois—a lake communicating with Fox River is called Lake Pistakee from this old name) which falls into the River of the Illinois about 25 or 30 leagues from Chikagou, and that we should thereby avoid all the portages that had to be made by the Chikagou route. We passed by this river (Root) which is about ten leagues in length to the portage and flows through agreeable prairies, but as there was no water in it we judged that there would not be any in the Peschoui either, and that instead of shortening our journey we should have been obliged to go over forty leagues of portage roads; this compelled us to take the route by way of Chikagou which is distant about twenty leagues.

We remained five days at Kipikaoui, leaving on the 17th and after being windbound on the 18th and 19th we camped on the 20th at a place five leagues from Chikagou. We should have arrived there early on the 21st, but the wind which suddenly arose on the lake compelled us to land half a league from Chikagou. We had considerable difficulty in landing and in saving our canoes; we all had to jump into the water. One must be very careful along the lakes, and especially Lake Mixcigan, whose shores are very low, to take to the land as soon as possible when the waves rise on the lake, for the rollers become so high in so short a time that one runs the risk of breaking his canoe and of losing all it contains. Many travellers have already been wrecked there. We, Monsieur de Montigny, Davion, and myself, went by land to the house of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers while our people remained behind. We found there Reverend Father Pinet and Reverend Father Binneteau, who had recently arrived from the Illinois country and was slightly ill.

I cannot describe to you, my lord, with what cordiality and manifestations of friendship these Reverend Fathers received and embraced us while we had the consolation of residing with them. Their house is built on the bank of a small river, with the lake on one side and a fine and vast prairie on the other. The village of the savages contains over a hundred and fifty cabins, and a league up the river is still another village almost as large. They are all Miamis. Reverend Father Pinet usually resides there except in winter, when the savages are all engaged in hunting, and then he goes to the Illinois. We saw no savages there; they had already started for their hunt. If one may judge of the future from the short time that Reverend Father Pinet has passed in this mission, we may believe that if God will bless the labors and the zeal of that holy missionary there will be a great number of good and fervent Christians. It is true that but slight results are obtained with reference to the older persons, who are hardened in profligacy, but all the children are baptized, and the jugglers even, who are the most opposed to Christianity, allow their children to be baptized. Several girls of a certain age and also many young boys have already been and are being instructed so that we may hope that when the old stock dies off, they will be a new and entirely Christian people.

On the 24th of October the wind blew and we sent for our canoes with all our effects, and finding that the water was extraordinarily low, we made a cache in the ground with some of them and took only what was absolutely necessary for our journey, intending to send for the remainder in the spring. We left Brother Alexandre in charge thereof, as he agreed to remain there with Father Pinet's man. We started from Chikagou on the 29th, and slept about two leagues from it on the little river that afterward loses itself in the prairies (south branch of Chicago River, the same point—"two leagues" from the mouth where Father Marquette staid in the winter of 1673-74). On the following day we began the portage, which is about three leagues in length when the waters are low, and is only one-fourth of a league in the spring, for then one can embark on a small lake that discharges into a branch of the river of the Illinois, and when the waters are low a portage has to be made to that branch. On that day we got over half our portage, and would have gone still further, when we perceived that a little boy given us by Monsieur de Muis (Nicolas Daneaux, Sieur de Mui), and who had set out alone although he was told to wait, was lost. We had not noticed it because all our people were busy. We were obliged to stop to look for him; everybody went and several gun-shots were fired, but he could not be found. It was a rather unfortunate accident; we were pressed for time, owing to the lateness of the season, and the waters being very low, we saw quite well, that as we were obliged to carry our baggage and our canoe, it would take a long time to reach the Illinois. This compelled us to separate. Messieurs de Montigny, de Tonty, and Davion continued the portage on the following day, while I with four other men went back to look for the little boy. While retracing my steps I met Father Pinet and Binneteau, who were on the way to the Illinois with two Frenchmen and a savage. We looked for the boy during the whole of that day also, without finding him. As it was the day before the feast of All Saints (October 31), I was compelled to go to Chikagou for the night with our people. After they had heard Mass and performed their devotions early in the morning, they spent the whole of that day also looking for the little boy without getting sight of him. It was very difficult to find him in the long grass, for this country consists of nothing but prairies with a few groves of trees. We were afraid to set fire to the long grass lest we might burn the boy. Monsieur de Montigny had told me to remain only one day, because the cold weather pressed us, and this compelled me to proceed, after giving orders to Brother Alexandre to seek him and to take some Frenchmen who were at Chikagou. (The boy found his way to the mission house thirteen days after he was lost, utterly exhausted and out of his senses. Shea. Letter of Thamer de la source in *Early Voyages*, p. 8.)

I started in the afternoon of the 2nd of November. I crossed the portage and passed the night at the river or branch of the River of the Illinois (Des Plaines). We descended the river as far as an island. During the night we were surprised to see a slight fall of snow, and on the following day the river was frozen over in several places. We

had therefore to break the ice and haul the canoe, because there was no open water. This compelled us to leave our canoe and go by land to seek Monsieur de Montigny, whom we met on the following day, the 5th of the month, at the Isle aux Cerfs. They had already gone over two leagues of portage. We still had four leagues to do, as far as Mont Joliet. This took us three days and we arrived on the 8th of the month.

From the Isle a la Cache to the said Mont Joliet, a distance of seven leagues, everything has to be portaged, as there is no water except in the spring. The banks of this river are very agreeable; they consist of prairies bounded by small hills and very fine thickets; there are numbers of deer in them and along the river are great quantities of game of all kinds, so that after crossing the portage one of our men, while taking a walk, procured enough to provide us with an abundant supper as well as breakfast on the following day. Mont Joliet is a very fine mound of earth in the prairie to the right, descending a little. It is about thirty feet high. The savages say that at the time of the great deluge one of their ancestors escaped, and that this small mountain is his canoe which he upset there. (All this is as nothing to the people of Joliet. Where was the mound? Is it leveled away? Were these the first white visitors to Joliet?)

On leaving Mont Joliet we proceeded about two leagues by water. We remained two whole days at our short portage, about a quarter of a league in length. As one of our men named Charbonneau had killed several turkeys and bustards in the morning, together with a deer, we were very glad to give our people a good meal and to let them rest for a day. On the tenth we made the short portage and found half a league of water, after which two men carried the canoe for about a league, the other walking behind, each carrying his load; and we then embarked for a league and a half. We slept at a short portage, five or six arpents in length. On the eleventh, after making the short portage, we came to the river Teatiki (Kankakee), which is the true river of the Illinois, that which we descended being only a distant branch. We put all our baggage in the canoe, which two men paddled, while Monsieur de Tonty and ourselves with the remainder of our men, proceeded by land, walking all the time through fine prairies. We came to the village of the Peangichias (Piankeshaws), Miamis who formerly dwelt at the falls of the Micipi, and who have for some years been settled at this place. There was no one in the village, for all had gone hunting. That day we slept near Massane (now known as Mazon Creek in Gundy County), a small river which falls into the River of the Illinois. On that day we began to see oxen (Buffalo), and on the morrow two of our men killed four; but as these animals are in poor condition at this season we contented ourselves with taking the tongues only. These oxen seem to me to be larger than ours; they have a hump on their backs; their legs are very short; the head is very large and so covered with long hair that it is said a bullet cannot penetrate it. We afterward saw some nearly every day during our journey as far as the Acanscas.

After experiencing considerable difficulty during three days in carrying and hauling our baggage in the canoe, owing to the river being rapid, low, and full of rocks, we arrived on the 15th of November at the place called the Old Fort (Starved Rock). This is a rock on the bank of the river, about a hundred feet high, whereon Monsieur de la Salle had caused a fort to be built, which has been abandoned, because the savages went to reside about twenty-five leagues further down. We slept a league above it, where we found two cabins of savages; we were consoled on finding a woman who was a thoroughly good Christian. The distance between Chicagou and the fort is considered to be about thirty leagues. There we commenced the navigation, that continues to be always good as far as the fort of Permetaoui (Peoria), where the savages now are and which we reached on the 19th of November. We found there Reverend Father Binetot (Bine-teau) and Reverend Father Marais (Marest) who, owing to their not being laden when they left Chigaou, had arrived six or seven days before us. We also saw Reverend Father Pinet there. All the Reverend Jesuit Fathers gave us the best possible reception. Their sole regret was to see us compelled to leave so soon on account of the frost. We took there a Frenchman who had lived three years with the Acanscas and who knows a little of their language.

This mission of the Illinois (The Mission of the Immaculate Conception founded by Father Marquette on April 11, 1675, at Starved Rock, but removed in 1694 to Peoria) seems to me the finest that the Reverend Jesuit Fathers have up here, for without counting all the children who are baptized, a number of adults have abandoned all their superstitions and live as thoroughly good Christians; they frequently attend (approached) the sacraments and are married in Church. We had not the consolation of seeing all these good Christians often, for they were all scattered down the bank of the river for the purpose of hunting. We saw only some women savages married to Frenchmen, who edified us by their modesty and their assiduity in going to prayer several times a day in the chapel. We chanted High Mass in it (the first mention of High Mass in Illinois), with deacon and sub-deacon, on the feast of the Presentation of the most Blessed Virgin (November 21), and after commending our voyage to her and having placed ourselves under her protection we left the Illinois on the 22nd of November—we had to break the ice for two or three arpents to get out of Lake Pemsteoui (Peoria). We had four canoes; that of Monsieur de Tonty, our two, and another belonging to five young voyageurs who were glad to accompany us, partly on account of Monsieur de Tonty, who is universally beloved by all the voyageurs, and partly also to see the country. Reverend Fathers Binneteau and Pinet also came with us a part of the way, as they wished to go and spend the whole winter with their savages.

On the first day after our departure we came to the cabin of Rouenssas, the most notable of the Illinois chiefs and a very good Christian (sometimes called Rouenensa or Roinsac, was chief of the Kaskaskia tribe of Indians). He received us with the politeness not

of a savage but of a well-bred Frenchman. He led us to his cabin and made us sleep there. He presented us with three deer, one of which he gave to Monsieur (de Tonty), another to the Father, and the third to us. We learned from him that the (Kickapoo) Chaouanons (Shawnees), and Chikachas (Chickasaws), and the Kakinanpols had attacked the Kaoukias (Cahokias), an Illinois tribe about five or six leagues below the mouth of the river on the Illinois along the Micissipi, and that they had killed ten men and taken nearly one hundred slaves, both women and children. As this Rouensa is very quick-witted, we thought we should give him some presents, to induce him to facilitate our passage through the Illinois tribes, not so much for this first voyage as for the others, when we should not be so strong; for all these nations up here are very suspicious and easily become jealous when we go to other nations. We therefore presented him with a collar, to show him that we formed an alliance with him and with all his nation, and that as he was a Christian he should have no greater pleasure than in seeing the other nations participate in the happiness he enjoyed, and for that reason he was obliged to facilitate as much as he could the designs of the missionaries who were going to instruct them. We afterward gave them a small present of powder.

On the 28th, after saying our Masses, when Rouensas and his family received communion at Monsieur de Montigny's, we left and came to a small village of savages, on disembarking at which the chief, named L'Ours (The Bear), told us that it was not advisable that we should go into the Micissipi country. But Monsieur (de Tonty) won him over or intimidated him by his words, telling him that we were sent by the Master of Life and the great Master of Prayer to instruct the savages whither we were going and that he was hired by the Governor to accompany us, so that if he molested us he attacked the very person of our Governor. The chief made no answer to these words. We embarked and on the 24th we slept at another village of several cabins where we found one Tired (or Tivet), a chief who was formerly famous in his nation but who has since been abandoned by nearly all his people. He made several complaints to Monsieur de Tonty, who reproached him, saying that it was his evil conduct that earned him the hatred of his people; that he had long before told him to give up his jugglery—for he is a famous sorcerer—and to pray; but that he had not yet done so. He afterward went to the prayers, and the savage promised him that he would be instructed on the following day.

On the 25th of the month we parted from Father Pinet, who remains in this village to spend the winter, for there are a good many savages here who pray, and on the 26th we came to a village whose chief was away hunting with all the young men. Some old men came to meet us, weeping for the death of their people killed by the Chaouanons (Shawnees). We went to their cabins, and they told us that we ought not to pass by the Chaouchias (Cahokias) with the Chaouanons (Shawnees), to whom, they said, Monsieur de Tonty had given arms and who had attacked them. Monsieur de Tonty replied that

he had left the Illinois country more than three years before and could not have seen the Chaouanons to give them arms. But the savages persisted in saying several things without reason, and we saw very well that they were evil-minded, and that we should leave as soon as possible, before the arrival of the young men who were to return the following morning. Therefore we went out abruptly, and when Monsieur de Tonty told them he feared not the men, they said that they pitied our young men, who would all be killed. Monsieur de Tonty replied that they had seen him with the Iroquois and knew what he could do and how many men he could kill. It must be confessed that all these savages have a very high esteem for him. He had only to be in one's company to prevent any insult being offered. We embarked at once, and went to sleep at a place five or six leagues from that village.

On the following day we were detained for some hours, owing to quantities of ice drifting down the river, and on the 28th we landed at a village consisting of about twenty cabins, where we saw the woman chief. This woman enjoys great repute in her nation, owing to her wit and her great liberality and because, as she has many sons and sons-in-law who are good hunters, she often gives feasts, which is the way to acquire the esteem of the savages and of all their nation in a short time. We said Mass in this village in the cabin of a soldier named La Violette, who was married to a savage and whose child Monsieur de Montigny baptized. Monsieur de Tonty related to the woman chief what had been said to us in the last village. She disapproved of it all, and told him that the whole of her tribe were greatly rejoiced at seeing him once more, as well as us, but that they regretted that they could not be sure of seeing him again and of having him longer with them.

We left this village and travelled about eight leagues between the 29th of November and the 3rd of December. We were detained at the same place by the ice, which completely barred the river. During that time we had an abundance of provisions, for no one need fast on that river, so great is the quantity of game of all kinds; swans, bustards, or duck. The river is bordered by a belt of very fine timber, which is not very wide, so that one soon reaches beautiful prairies, containing numbers of deer. Charbonneau killed several while we were detained, and others killed some also. Navigation is not very easy on this river when the water is low. We were sometimes obliged to walk with a portion of our people, while the others propelled the canoes, not without trouble, for they were often obliged to get into the water, which was already very cold. While we were detained, Reverend Father Binnetost, whom we had left at the village of the woman chief, came to see us, and after spending a day with us he returned to the village for the feast of St. Xavier (December 3). On that day a heavy gale broke up a portion of the ice and we proceeded about a league. On the following day we obtained some wooden canoes, at a place where there were five cabins of savages, and after breaking with them about three or four arpents of ice that barred

the river, that was as much as four fingers thick and could bear a man's weight, we afterward had free navigation to the Micissipi, which we reached on the 5th of December after journeying about eighty leagues from the fort of Pemiteouit (Peoria).

The Micissipi is a fine, large river flowing from the north. It divides into several channels at the spot where the River of the Illinois falls into it, forming very beautiful islands. It winds several times, but seems always to keep its course to the south as far as the Acanscas. It is bordered by very fine woods. The banks on both sides seem about thirty feet high, which does not prevent its overflowing them far into the woods in the spring, when the waters are high, with the exception of some hills or very high places that are sometimes met with. All along the river are numbers of oxen, bears, deer, and also a great many turkeys. We were always so well supplied with meat, while ascending the river as far as the Acanscas, that we passed many herds of oxen (buffalo) without attempting to fire at them.

On the 6th of December we embarked on the Micissipi, and after proceeding about six leagues we came to the great River of the Mysouries, which flows from the west, and is so muddy that it dirties the waters of the Micissipi, which until they meet that river are very clear. It is reported that there are great numbers of savages on the upper part of that river. Three or four leagues lower down we saw, on the left bank, a rock on which some figures are painted and for which the savages are said to have a certain veneration. They are now nearly effaced (the same, later called the Piasa, seen by Father Marquette and Louis Joliet on their voyage down the Mississippi in 1673). We camped that day at the Kaouchias (Cahokias), who were still in grief in consequence of the attack made upon them by the Chikachas and the Chaouanons. On our arrival they all began to weep. They did not seem to us to be so evil-intentioned or so wicked as some Illinois savages had sought to make us believe. The poor people excited our pity more than our fears.

On the following day about noon we reached the Tamarois. These savages had received timely warning of our arrival through some of the Kaoukias who carried the news to them, and as a year before they had molested Monsieur de Tonty's men, they were afraid and all the children and women fled from the village. The chief came with some of his people to receive us on the water's edge and to invite us to their village, but we did not go, because we wished to prepare for the feast of the Conception. We camped on the other side of the river on the right bank. Monsieur de Tonty went to the village, and after re-assuring them to some extent, he brought the chief, who begged us to go and see him in his village. We promised to do so and on the following day, the feast of the Conception (December 8), after saying our Masses, we went with Monsieur de Tonty and seven of our men, well armed. They came to meet us and led us to the chief's cabin. All the women and children were there, and no sooner had we entered the cabin than the young men and women broke away a portion of it to see us. They had never seen black gowns, except for a few days

Reverend Father Gravier, who had made a journey to their country (this is the only evidence of Father Gravier's acquaintance with the Tamarois). They gave us food and we gave them a small present, as we had done to the Kaouchias. We told them that it was to show them that our hearts were without guile, and that we wished to effect an alliance with them, so that they might give a good reception to our people who would pass there and supply them with food. They received the gift with many thanks and after that we returned to our camp.

The Tamarois were camped on an island about (blank in MS.) lower than the village, probably in order to obtain wood more easily than in their village, which is on the edge of a prairie and some distance away, probably through fear of their enemies. We were unable to ascertain whether they were very numerous; there seemed to be a great many of them, although the majority of their people were away hunting. There would be enough for a rather fine mission, by bringing to it the Kaouchias, who live quite near, and the Mechigamias, who live a little lower down the Micissipi, and who are said to be pretty numerous. We did not see them because they had gone into the interior to hunt. The three villages speak the Illinois languages.

We left the Tamarois in the afternoon of the 8th of December. On the 10th we saw a hill at a distance of about three arpents from the Micissipi on the right side going down. After being detained for some time on the 11th by rain, we arrived early on the 12th at Cape St. Antoine (said to be just above the Grand Eddy in Penny County, Missouri. Cape Cing Homme Creek is a corruption of the name St. Cosme), where we spent the remainder of the day and the whole of the next, collecting gum which we needed. There are many pines between Cape St. Antoine and a river lower down, and this is the only place where I saw any between Chikagou, and the Acanscas. Cape St. Antoine is a rocky bluff on the left bank going down. Some arpents below it is another rock on the right bank, which projects into the river and towards an island or rather a rock about one hundred feet high, which makes the river turn very short and narrows the channel, causing a whirlpool in which it is said canoes are lost during the high waters. On one occasion fourteen Miamis perished there. This has caused the spot to be dreaded by the savages, who are in the habit of offering sacrifices to that rock when they pass there. We saw none of the figures that we were told we should find there. We ascended this island or rock with some difficulty by a hill and we planted a fine cross on it, chanting the hymn *Vexilla Regis*, while our people fired three discharges from their guns. God grant that the Cross, that has never yet been known in this place, may triumph here, and that our Lord may abundantly spread the merits of His Holy Passion, so that all these savages may know and serve him. (This is a historic spot and should be appropriately marked.) Canes begin to be seen at Cape St. Antoine. There is also a kind of a tree, as large as and similar to the linden, which exudes a sort of sweet-scented gum. Along the Micissipi also grow a number of fruit-trees unknown

in Canada, some of whose fruit we still found occasionally on the trees. I forgot to state that as soon as we were on the Micissipi we no longer perceived that it was the winter season, and the further we descended the river the greater we found the heat. The nights however are cool.

We left Cape St. Antoine on the 14th of December and on the 15th we slept a league above the Ouabache (Wabash, later called Ohio). This is a large and fine river on the left of the Micissipi, which flows from the north; it is said to be five hundred leagues in length and to take its source near the Sonontouans (Seneca Indians whose habitat was on the headwaters of the Allegheny River). By this river one goes to the country of the Chaouanons (Shawnees) who trade with the English. On the 16th we left Ouabache, and nothing particular happened to us nor did we observe anything remarkable until we reached the Akansças, except that we killed a certain bird almost as large as a swan, with a beak about a foot long and a throat of extraordinary size. Some are said to have throats large enough to hold a bushel of corn. The one we killed was small and its throat could easily have contained half a bushel of corn. It is said that this bird places itself in a current and by opening its great beak it catches the fish which it stuffs into its throat. Our French called this bird Chietek (Pelican). On the 22nd we came to a small river on the left going down (the present Wolf River of Tennessee, at the mouth of which stands Memphis. The French explorers called it Rivière d Marest), which is said to be the road leading to the Chikachas, a numerous tribe. It is believed that the distance from this small river to their villages is not great.

On the 24th we camped early, in order that our people might prepare for the great festival of Christmas. We erected a small chapel and chanted High Mass at midnight, at which all our French performed their devotions. Christmas Day was spent in saying our Masses, all of which were attended by our people, and in the afternoon we chanted vespers. (First Christmas observance noted in this part of the world.) We were greatly surprised to see the earth tremble about one o'clock in the afternoon, and though the earthquake did not last long it was severe enough and was easily felt by everybody.

On the following day we started at a somewhat late hour, because we were obliged to wait for a little savage whom Monsieur de Tonty had brought with him, and who on the previous day had gone to the woods to look for fruit and had lost himself. We thought he might have been captured by some Chicaches or Acansças warriors; this compelled us to watch and be on guard all night. But we were greatly rejoiced when we saw him return next day. We started and slept at the place where the Kappas (Quapaws), a tribe of the Acansças formerly dwelt.

On St. John's day (December 27), after traveling about five leagues, we observed some wooden canoes and a savage at the water's edge. As we were near and feared that he would take to flight on seeing us, one of our men took the calumet and sang. He was heard in the village, which was close by. Some fled, while the others brought the calumet and came to receive us at the water's edge. On approaching us they rubbed us and then rubbed themselves, which is a mark of attention among savages. They took us on their shoulders and carried us into the cabin of a chief. A hill of heavy soil had to be ascended, and as he who carried me was sinking under the burden, I feared that he would let me fall, so I got down in spite of him and walked up the hill. But as soon as I reached the top I was compelled to get on his back to be carried to the cabin. The young men brought all our things into the same cabin. Some time afterward they came to sing the calumet for us, and in the evening of the following day they carried us to another cabin, where they made Monsieur de Tonty and the three of us sit on bear-skins; four chiefs each took a calumet that they had placed before us, and the others began to sing and beat drums made of earthenware jars over which a skin is stretched. Each holds in his hand a gourd containing seeds that make a noise, and as they sing in accord with the sound of the drum and the rattle of the gourds, the result is a music that is not the most agreeable. During this harmony a savage who stood behind us bleated. We were soon tired of this ceremony, which they perform for all strangers to whom they wish to show consideration, and it must be endured unless one wishes to be deemed evil-hearted or as harboring wicked designs. After remaining a certain time, we put some of our people in our place, and they had the pleasure of hearing the lullaby throughout the night. On the following day they made us a present of a little slave and of some skins, for which we paid with a present of knives and other things that they prize highly.

We were greatly consoled at seeing ourselves at the seat of our missions, but we were deeply afflicted at finding this nation of the Acanscas, formerly so numerous, entirely destroyed by war and by disease. Not a month had elapsed since they had rid themselves of smallpox, which had carried off most of them. In the village are now nothing but graves, in which they were buried two together, and we estimated that not a hundred men were left. All the children had died, and a great many women. We were invited at every moment to feasts. Their honesty is extraordinary. They transported all our effects to a cabin where they remained two days without anybody taking a thing, and even without a single article being lost. One of our people forgot his knife in a cabin and a savage at once took it to him. Polygamy is not common among them. We saw however in the village of the Kappas (Quapaws) one of those wretches who from their youth dress as girls and pander to the most shameful of all vices. But this infamous man was not of their nation; he belonged to the Illinois, among whom the practice is quite common. The savages have an abundance of corn, of beans, and of pumpkins. As to meat,

though they are in a country teeming with game, we found none in their villages, owing to the fact that they were weakened by disease and in continual dread of their enemies. They make houses like the Hurons, making use of great earthenware pots instead of kettles, and of very well made jars for holding water. I have not yet seen savages so well formed. They are quite naked except that when they go out they wear a buffalo robe. The women and girls are partly naked, as among the Illinois. They wear a deer-skin hung over one shoulder.

We remained two days and a half in this village, and after planting a Cross in it, which we told the savages was to be the sign of our union, we left on the 30th of November (December) for their other village, about nine leagues distant from this one. We were deeply grieved to have to part from Monsieur de Tonty, who was unable to come with us for various reasons. He would greatly have liked to accompany us to the other nations whither we were going, but his affairs compelled him to return as soon as possible to the Illinois country. He is the man who best knows these regions; he has twice gone down to the sea; he has been far inland to the most remote tribes, and is beloved and feared everywhere. If it be desired to have discoveries made in this country, I do not think the task could be confided to a more experienced man than he. I have no doubt, my lord, that your Grace will deem it a pleasure to acknowledge the obligations we owe him.

We slept at the mouth of the river of the Acansças (the present Arkansas River), which is a fine one and distant two hundred and fifty or three hundred leagues from that of the Illinois. On the following day we reached the village at an early hour. Six savages came to meet us with the calumet, and led us to the village with the same ceremonies as those observed at the first one. We passed two days there. This village seemed to be more populous than the first; there were more children in it. We told them that we were going further down, to their neighbors and friends; that they would see us often; that they would do well to live together, and that they would thereby more easily resist their enemies. They agreed to everything and promised that they would try to bring with them the Osages, who had come from the River of the Missouri and were on the upper portion of this river. We started on the 2nd of January and camped at the mouth of the river, where the French who were returning would allow us but one day for writing. I thought I should have more time to do so, as I hoped to go up from the Acansças to the Illinois, but, as we are going much further down, I am afraid the letters we shall write after this will not be received this year, for the persons by whom we wished to send them will have left before we can reach the Illinois. I therefore beg your Grace to excuse me if this one be somewhat badly expressed, as I am so greatly pressed for time that I cannot even write to one of our gentlemen, to whom I beg you to allow me to send greetings, and to commend myself to their holy prayers. I trust your

Grace will be pleased to grant me the same favor, and to remember before our Lord him who remains, with very profound respect,

My lord,

Your Grace's very humble and very obedient servant,

J. F. BUISSON St. COSME,

Priest, unworthy Missionary.

I have not time to reread this letter."⁸

Father St. Cosme, it is seen, describes in more detail than any of the early narratives the passage of the portage and the conditions and surroundings of Mon Jolly (Mount Jolliet). They arrived on the 15th of November at the old fort (now Starved Rock), but found it abandoned, the Indians having gone to stay about twenty-five leagues lower down (at Peoria). The next stop was at Peoria Lake, where they again saw Father Pinet, who, though starting later from Chicago than they, had arrived several days earlier at Peoria, due to the fact that Father St. Cosme's party had the misfortune to lose a boy that accompanied the party in the tall grass and remained searching for him.

Here, besides Father Pinet, who was on a temporary visit only, they found Father Gabriel Marest, S. J., and Father Julien Bineteau; and Father St. Cosme says that:

"The Reverend Fathers gave us all possible welcome. Their only regret was to see us start out so soon on account of the frosts."

Here we have a proof of the success of the Illinois Missions which has been so frequently brought into question. Father St. Cosme says:

"This Illinois Mission seems to me the finest that the Jesuit Fathers have up here, for without counting all the children who were baptized, there are many grown persons who have abandoned all their superstitions and live as perfectly good Christians, frequenting the sacraments and are married in the Church."

THE FIRST HIGH MASS IN ILLINOIS

It was at this time, November 21, 1699, at Peoria, that another great event in the early history of the Church occurred.

"We sang High Mass there with deacon and sub-deacon on the day of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin."

⁸ This letter appears in Translation in Shea, *Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi*, p. 45 *et. seq.* Louise Phelps Kellogg, Ph.D., gives a translation of it in her *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, p. 432, *et. seq.*, with many valuable notes. The annotations bracketed in our rendering are on the authority of Shea, Kellogg and others.

So far as writings show that was the first High Mass ever celebrated on the soil of Illinois.

Father St. Cosme and his companions arrived at the village of the Tamarois, the seat of the future activities of the Fathers of the Seminary, on the 7th of December, 1699, and celebrated their Masses on the 8th, the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, and departed from there for the lower Mississippi on the same day.

HOLY FAMILY MISSION FOUNDED

At the conclusion of their southern voyage, Father St. Cosme returned and established himself at the village of the Tamarois which De la Source said was the largest village they had seen, with about three hundred cabins. "There are as many people at the Tamarois as at Quebec."⁹

Father Jean Francois Buisson de St. Cosme was, therefore, the first of the Fathers of the Foreign Missions to have charge of the Mission of the Tamarois, known since as the Holy Family, and located in what afterwards became and still remains Cahokia. Later he became a victim of the Indians, being killed while descending the Mississippi by a party of Sitimaches. St. Cosme did not remain long in the Tamarois Mission, but removed soon to the Natchez on the lower Mississippi.

Reverend John Bergier, another priest of the Seminary of Foreign Missions, succeeded St. Cosme at the Tamarois, and upon the departure of Father St. Cosme, Father Bergier became the Superior of the Secular Missionaries in the Mississippi Valley.

Through the great charity of Father Gabriel Marest, S. J., we have been able to learn more of Father Bergier than of any of the other priests of the Seminary. In one of his letters, Father Marest gives a very interesting account of Father Bergier's labors and of his death, and incidentally discloses some of the trials of the missionary. Father Marest says:

"About twenty-five leagues from here is the village of the Tamarouas. This is a mission which was at first intrusted to Father Pinet, whose zeal and whose labors were so greatly blessed by God that I

⁹ For LaSource's letter see Shea, *Early Voyages, op. cit.* p. 79 *et seq.* This particular reference on p. 84. Edward Joseph Fortier, with the assistance of Dr. C. W. Alvord, collected a number of letters bearing upon the establishment of the Cahokia mission, and concluded from his study that the mission was actually founded between March 28 and May 20, 1699. See his paper in ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. 5, p. 144, *et seq.*

myself am witness that his Church could not contain the multitude of savages who came to it in crowds. This Father had as his successor Monsieur Bergier, a Priest from the Seminary of the Mission *Etrangeres*. Having learned that he was dangerously sick, I immediately went to assist him. I remained eight entire days with this worthy ecclesiastic; the care that I took of him and the remedies which I gave him, seemed gradually to restore him, so that, believing himself better, and knowing, besides, how necessary my presence was to my own mission, on account of the departure of the savages, he urged me to return to it. Before leaving him, I administered to him, by way of precaution, the Holy Viaticum; he instructed me as to the condition of his mission, recommending it to me in case that God should take him away. I charged the Frenchman who took care of the patient to inform us at once if he were in danger; and I retraced the way to my Mission.”

After leaving Father Bergier, Father Marest spent several days in visiting the sick and afflicted on his homeward route, preparing several sick persons for death, and administering to them the sacraments. Arriving at home again he says:

“As soon as I reached our village, I wished to see Monsieur Bergier; but the people opposed this, alleging as a cause that, no one having brought news of him,—as had been promised in case he were worse,—they could not doubt that his health was re-established. I yielded to this reasoning; but a few days afterward, I felt genuine regret for not having followed my first plan. A young slave came, about two o’clock in the afternoon, to apprise us of his death, and beg us to go to perform the funeral rites. I set out forthwith. I had already gone six leagues when night overtook me; a heavy rain which had fallen did not permit my taking a few hours’ rest. Therefore I walked until daybreak, when, the weather having cleared a little, I lighted a fire to dry myself, and then continued my way. I arrived at the village toward evening, God having given me strength to make these fifteen leagues in a day and a night. The next day at dawn I said Mass for the deceased, and buried him.

The death of Monsieur Bergier was somewhat sudden, according to what was told me by the Frenchman who was with him; he felt it coming all at once, and said that it would be useless to send for me, since he would be dead before my arrival. He merely took in his hands the crucifix, which he kissed lovingly, and expired. He was a missionary of true merit and of a very austere life. At the beginning of his Mission he had to bear rude attacks from the Charlatans,—who, availing themselves of his slight knowledge of the Savage language, every day took away from him some Christians; but eventually, he learned how to make himself, in his turn, feared by those impostors. His death was for them a cause of triumph. They gathered around the cross that he had erected, and there they invoked their Manitou,—each one dancing, and attributing to himself the glory of having

killed the Missionary, after which they broke the cross into a thousand pieces. I learned this with grief some time after.'"¹⁰

Father Bergier's death occurred on November 9, 1707. He was succeeded in the Cahokia Mission by Dominic Mary Varlet, another of the Seminary fathers, who was beyond doubt a brilliant man, but who in his lifetime became a Jansenist. Great were the hopes that were built upon the Reverend Dominic Mary Varlet, who is said to have been a man of ability and energy and of high repute, and a priest of virtue and piety. On the 6th of October, 1717, Bishop St. Vallier, recognizing his learning, energy, probity and other virtues, appointed him Vicar-General for Fort la Mobile or Fort Louis and the places and missions near and along the river Mississippi, with jurisdiction over all priests, secular or regular, except priests of the Society of Jesus, who were subject to their own superior, and renewed letters granted to former Vicars-General in 1698. Father Varlet is said to have spent six years on the missions, and returning to Europe was in 1718 appointed Bishop of Ascalon and Coadjutor of Babylon. Soon after his appointment, news reached Rome that he was an active adherent to the doctrines of Jansenius, whereupon the Sovereign Pontiff recalled him; but he went to Utrecht in Holland, where he took part in establishing the schismatical Jansenist Church, consecrated four successive pretended archbishops, and died near that city in 1742, at the age of sixty-four, after having been excommunicated by several Popes.¹¹

JOSEPH J. THOMPSON.

Chicago.

¹⁰ Translation in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 66, p. 24.

¹¹ Shea, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, pp. 555-557.

COLONEL DANIEL E. McCARTHY, U. S. A.

In Chicago on September the first, 1922, Colonel Daniel Edward McCarthy, retired, veteran of many wars and one of the best known and best liked officers in the Army, passed away to his eternal reward after five months of patient suffering, the after effects of a breakdown in France and a vigorous career. He was the first member of the A. E. F. to land in France and was known far and wide as the man who broke up the graft rings in the Philippines. Honesty, service and loyalty were his key words and he had no use for the man who did not return one hundred cents in value for every dollar that passed through his hands. For over twenty years "Little Mac," as he was sometimes known, was the nemesis of grafters in Army contract work. A strict disciplinarian he was beloved by those under him for he never failed to give credit to those who earned it and he set the example for all by efficient, industrious hard work and devotion to duty. Great things to be done and odds against him only seemed to spur on the more this fighting Irishman and he never gave up, even through the long last months of suffering. Possessed of a pleasing personality and real Irish wit he readily made lasting friends and his passing is deeply mourned by people in all walks of life. He was laid to rest at St. Joseph's Cemetery, Evansville, Indiana, following services at The Assumption Church. He is survived by a wife and two children, a daughter, Laura Gertrude, and a son, Daniel F.

Colonel Daniel E. McCarthy was born in Albany, New York, April 14th, 1859. Graduating from High School at the very early age of 13 years, he entered the employ of the Whitney Department store where he remained for four years. At this time he accidentally ran across a news item stating that the examinations for entrance to West Point would be held in two weeks and he was urged by his friends to try, but upon learning that his employer's son had also planned to take the examination, it is said that Colonel McCarthy decided not to take them; however, Mr. Whitney urged him to go ahead and if possible to get a higher average than his son.

During the two weeks intervening before the examinations, Colonel McCarthy studied at night time, and although it had been four years since he had last attended school and the class of candidates was very large, he easily passed with highest honors and was admitted to West Point in 1877. His service at West Point was notably marked by his high averages in all studies and strict observance of the rules and



COLONEL DANIEL E. MCCARTHY, U. S. A.

Born April 14, 1859. Died September 1, 1922

regulations of the academy. He was graduated in the class of 1881 and promoted to be a Second Lieutenant of the 12th Infantry and served as an officer of this regiment until appointed in the Quartermaster Department as a Captain on October 14th, 1896.

Colonel McCarthy's first year of service after graduation was spent on the frontier at Fort Bowie, Arizona, and after duty at Plattsburg, N. Y., and Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas, he was again on frontier duty when the Indians were troublesome, being stationed at Forts Sully, Yates and Bennett in the Dakotas from August, 1881, to October, 1891. He took part in the expedition against the Apaches, 1881-1882, and was in the Sioux Campaign in the Dakotas, 1890-1891, at which time he was in command of the Indian Scouts and also organized Troop L of the 3rd U. S. Cavalry which at that time was composed of Sioux Indians. He saw very strenuous service during these campaigns, as they were waged under most adverse conditions, the weather being extremely cold and the snow very deep. Food was scarce and because of the wildness of the country and the cunning of the Indians, the white soldiers were forced to undergo many hardships.

Colonel McCarthy was subsequently, among other services, at posts in North Dakota, Kansas, Nebraska and Illinois. Even in these early days of his service, Colonel McCarthy quickly drew attention to himself by his excellent handling of men and the splendid discipline and training of his command. His company was always the best drilled and best equipped and several times his commanding officers put him in command of companies lacking discipline and training and invariably in a short while, he had them on a footing equal to or better than the other companies in the regiment.

After services on the frontier, Colonel McCarthy was sent to Evansville, Indiana, as a recruiting officer, and it was here that he met and married Miss Laura Fendrich. Later he rejoined his regiment at Fort Niobrara, Nebraska, and was made Regimental and Post Quartermaster. As usual, he conducted these offices in such an exemplary manner that Secretary of War Lamont, who was then touring the country, commented highly upon the efficiency of this officer, and through his own observation and at his own command, promoted Colonel McCarthy from First Lieutenant to Captain and permanently transferred him to the Quartermaster Corps. Secretary Lamont, during his term in office, personally promoted only two other officers; these were Generals Barry and Bell, and in each case he saw the unusual in the officer and promotion was a fitting reward for services well rendered.

After serving as Post Quartermaster at Ft. Sheridan, and at the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, Colonel McCarthy was sent to Chickamauga Park, Ga., as Depot Quartermaster. He was given the task of organizing a huge supply depot where troops were equipped for field service. This necessitated a great amount of work and for several months Colonel McCarthy was at his desk from 16 to 20 hours a day, including Sundays. He even kept at his work after he was taken ill with typhoid fever and the doctors had ordered him to bed. The system he worked out, however, was so efficient that the large number of troops passing through this depot were supplied with every equipment necessary for the field and no hitch at all developed to cause delays. Colonel McCarthy was highly commended for this notable work, not only by his superior officers and officials in the War Department, but he also received numerous letters from Senators, business men and from National Guard or Volunteer Regiments that had passed through the depot, and he was promoted to Major and Quartermaster of Volunteers December 3rd, 1900, and served as Assistant Chief Quartermaster at Havana.

Later, Colonel McCarthy was Constructing Quartermaster at Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas, where, at the command of the Secretary of War, he built the largest and finest fort in this country. About this time he wrote the "Manual for Quartermasters Serving In the Field," which has long been used as a text book and guide not only for quartermasters in this country, but it has been used in the Quartermaster Schools of foreign nations. Speaking of this book, the Army and Navy Journal of that time says it is the most complete book ever written for Quartermasters and answers every question that might arise, giving complete tables for outfitting and caring for any body of soldiers from a squad to a Field Army.

From Ft. Leavenworth, Colonel McCarthy was sent to Manila as Chief Quartermaster of the Department of Luzon, 1905-1907. In the Philippines, Colonel McCarthy is particularly commended for the huge amounts of money he saved the Government. It was estimated at that time to be in the neighborhood of two and a half million a year. He was instructed by his commanding officer to investigate conditions in the Quartermaster Department in the Philippines and his thorough investigation disclosed padded payrolls, graft of various kinds, including misuse of funds and supplies, and a lack of development of Island facilities. Because of the seriousness of many of the charges, this investigation was not acted upon until General Wood took command of the Island and at that time the recommendations of

Colonel McCarthy were taken up and followed out. This included the establishment of coal mines in the Islands which reduced the price of coal by two-thirds and enabled the American Navy to have a coaling station on the Islands and America was no longer dependent upon England and Japan for coal supplies in the Orient. Huge dry docks were established for the care of the Island fleets. All this work, heretofore had been done at extremely high prices by English concerns and in case of trouble, America would have been entirely dependent upon foreign help. Grafting in the purchasing of equipment was disclosed, and upon recommendation of Colonel McCarthy, work that had been done by outsiders, or foreign nations, was now done entirely in the Philippine Islands.

After service in the Philippines, this officer was next made Chief Quartermaster of the Department of Missouri. He received his promotion to Lieutenant Colonel in 1910 and in 1911, during Mexican Border trouble, he was Quartermaster of the Provisional Division at San Antonio, Texas. Going from there to Chicago, he served as Chief Quartermaster from 1911 to 1912. For a few months at this time he was called to Washington to do some special work in the Quartermaster Chief's Office and later returned to Chicago as Chief Quartermaster until a second outbreak of border trouble, when he was made Division Quartermaster at Texas City, Texas, 1913-1914. He was promoted to Colonel in 1913 and served again as Chief Quartermaster at Chicago until 1917. At the end of '16, however, he was ordered to Washington for duty at the War Office which also included special work and studies.

Upon the declaration of War, Colonel McCarthy was selected by General Pershing to be the Chief Quartermaster of the American Expeditionary Forces, and he sailed with the Commanding General and his staff on the S. S. Baltic, May 28th, 1917. Landing in England, the party was received in audience by King George, Buckingham Palace. Colonel McCarthy was selected as president of the Board of Officers to precede General Pershing to France and select the Ports of Debarkation for the American Armies that were to follow. Being in command of this party, Colonel McCarthy went down the gang-plank first and thus has the distinction of being the first man of the American Expeditionary Forces to set foot on French soil, this on June 10th, 1917, at Boulogne.

The early duties of the Quartermaster Department in France were very strenuous as the plans for equipping and training American troops in France were worked out at this time. The thoroughness

with which every detail was planned or carried out was a matter of much comment by prominent foreign officers.

For five months, Colonel McCarthy, as General Pershing's chief quartermaster, selected the points of debarkation, built camps, provided for rest areas, pushed forward all railroad construction and took over the responsibility of feeding, clothing and transporting the American soldiers. A slave for work, this energetic officer was out in all kinds of weather in France and in October, 1917, contracted neuritis. Aggravated by the climatic conditions, he became worse and, much against his will, army surgeons ordered him to the States. He returned to America and was invalided to a base hospital at Chicago. From Chicago he was sent to the southwest department. Serving as Department Quartermaster and Depot Quartermaster at Ft. Sam Houston, Tex., he established a huge reclamation depot, saving the Government many thousands of dollars. Later he was Quartermaster of the 4th Corps Area at Ft. McPherson, Ga.

In 1914 the Secretary of War selected Colonel McCarthy out of all the officers in the American Army to attend the British Service School at Aldershot, England, with the idea that later on a similar school might be established in this country. He was to have sailed on September 14th, but owing to war being declared, England closed this school and the appointment was cancelled.

Colonel McCarthy is an honor graduate of the Infantry and Cavalry Schools, the Field Officer School at Ft. Leavenworth and the Army War College at Washington.

He was retired from active service on June 30th, 1921, upon his own application, after 44 years' service, which included the Indian Wars, Spanish-American Wars, Philippine Service and World War Overseas.

Though every inch a soldier, Colonel McCarthy was even more a home man and whenever duty did not interfere, he could always be found with his wife and two children. The world who knew the precise and official soldier and did not see the devoted and enthusiastic father and husband, only knew half of the man. It was at the fire-side that the real Colonel McCarthy showed itself, simple, kindly and democratic. With his children he was more like a pal than a father and his devotion to his wife took the form of a prolonged honeymoon. Whenever it was possible he had his family near him whether in camp, at home, the Philippines—and even in France.

(REV.) FREDERIC SIEDENBURG, S. J.

Chicago.

THE LOG CHAPEL AT NOTRE DAME

INDIANA'S CRADLE OF RELIGION

Splendid buildings and picturesque retreats abound at Notre Dame; but, to me, none is so alluring as the little vine-covered log chapel beside the Mission House. It is flanked on one side by rough boulders and sturdy pine trees which thrive on the grassy slopes of St. Mary's Lake. Every evening after Benediction we leave the stately steepled church of the Sacred Heart with its impressive beauty of architecture and painting, its magnificent altars, its costly organ, wonderful frescoes, and imposing statues, to stroll toward this humble log chapel.

Urns of fragrant flowers adorn the pathway to the door. Masses of honeysuckle blossoms flame upon its outer walls like vigil-lights before a shrine, and a simple rustic cross, symbol of Christ's sacrifice and man's redemption, surmounts the gable. The setting sun in the background, radiating a splendor of gorgeous color and giving promise of a brighter day to come, illumines and beautifies the simple structure, throws it out, as it were, on Nature's canvas for our greater admiration.

With hushed voices and quiet footsteps we approach the door and read the framed inscription thereon:

"INDIANA'S CRADLE OF RELIGION

In 1686 the Rev. Claude Allouez, S. J., erected a chapel on the border of this, St. Mary's Lake. This chapel, the first sanctuary in all Indiana, was abandoned and the mission of which it was a part deserted in 1759. In 1830 it was reorganized by Rev. Stephen Theodore Badin, the first priest ordained in the United States, who built a log chapel, of which the present structure is a replica. Fr. Badin was succeeded in 1832 by Rev. Louis De Seille, who had charge of the mission until his death in 1837. His successor was the Rev. Benjamin Petit, whose labors extended up till 1838. From that time there was no resident missionary until the arrival of Rev. Edward Sorin, C. S. C., three years later.

Fr. Badin's chapel fell into disuse in 1848, and was destroyed by fire in 1856. The present chapel was completed in 1906."

Entering the chapel we are filled with peace of soul and sublime reverence. The quaintness and simplicity of the altars, the miniature

Stations of the Cross, the pictures, and the furnishings of colonial design impress one immediately. They are brought to view by the light flickering through four small square-paned windows curtained without by heavy vines. The ceiling is made of matched boards. There are no pews, only a few kneeling benches covered with tapestry.

All this crudeness and simplicity, however, bring reverent thoughts of the majesty and condescension of Him who dwells there, calling to mind the "Little King" in the manger of the stable at Bethlehem.

On either side of the doorway stands an old rudely constructed altar ornamented with antique vases and candlesticks. Above one is a picture of the Sorrowful Mother, and above the other, a picture of St. Monica and St. Augustine. The mother clasps the hand of her repentant son; the eyes of both are turned Heavenward. The "high" altar is opposite the door. Above its tiny Tabernacle is a miniature statue of our Savior—the Sacred Heart—with outstretched wounded hands. It stands behind and looms above the crucifix. Still higher and in front of the statue is a small electric light,—all symbolic it seems to me.

Near the door opposite the "high" altar are the treasured chair and kneeling bench of Father Badin. On the left wall, with a bas-relief of Father Badin above and a palm of victory below, is a tablet bearing the following inscription:

In grateful memory of
The Very Rev. Stephen T. Badin
Born 1768 — Died 1853.

Buried beneath this chapel, born at Orleans, France, 1768, died at Cincinnati. First priest ordained in the United States by Bishop Carroll at Baltimore 1793. Missionary for sixty years in the Mississippi Valley, builder on this site in 1831 of a church of which this structure is a reproduction. His remains transferred from the Cathedral of Cincinnati now repose beneath the shadow of the University of Notre Dame, for which he donated the site and of which he was a loyal friend and constant benefactor.

"Praise we now the men of renown, our fathers in
their generation."

A large inscribed slab in the floor of the chapel marks Father Badin's grave.

On the right wall hangs a painting representing the approach of the death of Rev. Father De Seille, to whose care the Notre Dame mission was entrusted from 1832 to 1837. The picture was executed by John Worden, Professor at Notre Dame, from an unfinished sketch

by the talented young artist, Paul Wood. While looking at the picture you are impressed by the expressions of edification, reverence, awe, and exaltation on the faces of the kneeling Indians.

Father De Seille, realizing that he was about to die, sent a messenger to a distant mission for a priest to come to him to administer the Last Sacraments. Before it was possible for the other missionary to arrive, Father De Seille felt himself sinking rapidly. With the aid of one of his little band he managed to leave his room, which opened into the chapel, and to totter feebly to the altar. There, surrounded by his faithful Indians with whom he had labored so zealously, he partook of Holy Communion and died a half hour later. One can imagine the emotions of the red men of the forest, witnessing the dying priest's self-administration of the Holy Viaticum.

The traditions and holy ideals inspired by these early missionaries have come down through the years into the hearts of the priests at Notre Dame. Early this morning a Father of the Holy Cross offered Mass for the last time on the altar of the little chapel, for he leaves today on a long journey to Bengal, where he will devote his life to missionary work.

Frequently in the free moments of these busy days in this atmosphere of revered tradition and saintly memory we kneel in "blissful solitude" laying before the Master "the gold of our affections, and the frankincense of prayer, and the myrrh of griefs and sorrows." Then the peace of Heaven steals into our souls, for the steady flame of the brightly burning sanctuary lamp, like a beacon light of hope, proclaims this crude but hallowed cabin to be, indeed, a HOUSE OF GOD.

MARY E. SULLIVAN.

Chicago.

ILLINOIS' FIRST CITIZEN—PIERRE GIBAUT

(Continued from October, 1922)

VIII. YEARS OF SUSPENSE

The years following the Clark conquest and the close of the Revolutionary War were especially difficult for Father Gibault. Trying as they were to the French residents of the Illinois settlements they were unbearable to the priest. The people were utterly ruined. Many of the most substantial residents left the east side of the Mississippi for a more tolerable residence on the west side, which still belonged to the Spanish, later transferred to the French. The few that remained were in general unmanageable and in their ill-nature and impoverished condition had no use for a priest and would not only not support him, but would not pay him ordinary respect. In one of his letters Father Gibault tells the bishop of the condition that had developed in the country :

In Canada all is civilized, here all is barbarous. You are in the midst of justice, here injustice dominates. There is no distinction from the greatest to the least except that of force; of the tongue, pernicious, caluminating, and slanderous; crying out very loud and giving forth all sorts of insults and oaths. Everybody is in poverty, which engenders theft and rapine. Wantonness and drunkenness pass here as elegance and amusements quite in style. Breaking of limbs, murder by means of a dagger, sabre or sword (for he who wills carries one) are common, and pistols and guns are but toys in these regions. And who has one to fear but the strongest, unless one will be the greater traitor. No commandant, no troops, no prison, no hangman, always as in small places, a crowd of relatives or allies who sustain each other; in a word absolute impunity for these and ill luck for the stranger. I could name a great many persons assassinated in all the villages of this region—French, English and Spanish without any consequence whatsoever; but I shall satisfy myself in naming two recently murdered: M. Guyon the younger, who studied at Montreal killed his father-in-law with a gun at Kaskaskia; and yesterday evening one named Bellerose killed another man here with a knife. In a month I fear that I may be able to count ten of these murders. In spiritual matters everything is the same or even worse. The most solemn feasts and Sundays are days given up to dances and drunkenness and consequently to quarrels and battles. With dissension in the homes, fathers and mothers in discord with their children, girls

suborned and ravished in the woods, a thousand other disorders which you are able to infer from these.'"¹

No investigator has been able to assign a direct reason for Father Gibault's removal to Vincennes in 1785, nor has any one given a particular reason why he made his headquarters most of the time, after the Virginia troops came to Illinois, in Ste. Genevieve, Mo. There was reason enough, however, in the attitude of the Kaskaskians at that time, and it is perhaps true that he was literally starved out of that region.

At any rate we find him in Vincennes in the latter part of the year 1785, and it was at this time that the transition in the ecclesiastical jurisdiction from Quebec to Baltimore occurred.

"Until 1785 the ecclesiastical situation in the West remained unchanged; nominally the territory was within the diocese of Quebec, and Father Gibault, although he had lost the confidence of his superiors, looked to the Canadian bishop for guidance. Events had occurred in Europe and the East, however, that were to alter the whole destiny of these pioneer communities. The Treaty of Paris had been signed, and the West had become the territory of a new state. This meant a readjustment of the Catholic Church in America to accommodate itself to the new conditions. On June 9, 1784, there was issued at Rome by the prefect of the Sacred Congregation *de Propaganda Fide* a decree organizing the Catholic Church in the United States as a distinct body and appointing the Reverend John Carroll Prefect Apostolic. Through an oversight no action was taken to change the former limits of the diocese of Quebec, so that the ecclesiastical relations of the West were not legally altered, in spite of the manifest intention of the authorities at Rome to extend the jurisdiction of the new Prefect Apostolic to the limits of the United States. Thus was laid the foundations of a conflict of jurisdictions which might have been of serious consequences, had not both the officials involved proved themselves judicious, patient and considerate. As soon as the priests, sent from Quebec and Baltimore, reported that the same territory was being served by both dioceses, there was an exchange of courteous letters between the bishop and the Prefect Apostolic. The whole subject was referred to Rome; and the necessary correction, in accordance with the purpose of the act creating

¹ A revolting picture, but seemingly the usual results of slow reconstruction after war. This and all the letters not otherwise marked was found in the Cathedral Archives of Quebec, and has been published by Abbe Lindsay.

the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the United States, was made without difficulty.²

Before this adjustment was accomplished, there had been sent, both from Canada and the United States, priests to take charge of the spiritual wants of the Northwest. In the summer of 1784 Father Payet went from Detroit to Vincennes, where he remained till September. Later the same priest was sent on a tour of inspection to Kaskaskia and Cahokia. Father Gibault, who in 1785 had left the Spanish territory in spite of advantageous offers and had taken up his residence at Vincennes, continued to look upon himself as the vicar general of the bishop of Quebec for this region, and it was some time before he learned of the changes in the ecclesiastical situation; and, when this was forced on his attention, by the arrival of priests from the East, he was unwilling to submit to the new jurisdiction."³

This unwillingness to recognize the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical authority of the United States, though it might be regarded as an inconsistency in the light of the important part Father Gibault had taken for the transference of allegiance of his people to the United States, is not to be wondered at, in view of the fact that both the Bishop of Quebec and the Prefect Apostolic of the United States were in doubt about the matter. As a matter of fact the re-organization of the Church for the benefit of the thirteen states entirely ignored the western country. So far as an actual change of jurisdiction was concerned there affecting the Illinois country, there was none in the original provisions, and Father Gibault was right in his assumption that that part of the country still remained under the Bishop of Quebec.⁴

However, when the representatives of Father Carroll, the Prefect Apostolic of the United States, appeared in the Mississippi valley towns Father Gibault betook himself to Vincennes, where there was no priest, and where he was cordially welcomed. It should be noted that he was not unwelcome in Illinois. The people of Cahokia at any rate were very anxious to have him locate there, and, as will be seen, a trial of at least one of the new priests, Pierre Huet de la Valliniere, brought home to the people the virtues and graces of Father Gibault.

But we can understand the situation at this time better by reference to a letter which Father Gibault wrote the bishop after arriving

² A full and clear discussion of this entire matter will be found in Dr. Peter Guilday's recently published work, *The Life and Times of John Carroll*.

³ Alvord, *Illinois Historical Collection*, Vol. 5, p. 35, ch. XXXIV.

⁴ The question was not definitely settled by Rome until 1791.

at Vincennes to take charge of that parish. After some preliminaries the good priest writes:

“Yes, My Lord, I have always devoted myself to performing all the duties of the holy service. I still do all I can even now to fulfill them, and by the Grace of God I shall try to perform them even better in the future. I have enough confidence in our Lord Jesus Christ to hope to banish in a short time barbarism from Post Vincennes, where the inhabitants, and especially the young people, had had no religious teaching for twenty-three years except when I or Mr. Payet happened to pass through there on our short missionary journeys. The inhabitants have been brought up like the savages in the midst of whom they live. I have taught and still teach the catechism to them twice a day, after Mass and before sunset. After each lesson in the catechism, I send away the girls and make the boys repeat the responses of the Mass and the ceremonies of the church for feast-days and on Sundays as often as it is possible for me to do so. In a word, I have been here for a year and a half; and when I arrived here I found no one, either grown up or young, to assist at Mass except an old European who was not always able to come, and then there was no Mass. Two months later I had several of them; and now even the smallest ones in the village know not only how to assist at Mass but also at the ceremonies of the feast-days and Sundays, and all the lesser and greater catechism. I should be well enough pleased with the spiritual condition of the people, were it not for this accursed trade in Eaudvie which I cannot succeed in uprooting and which obliges me to refuse the sacraments to several, for the savages commit horrible disorders when in liquor, especially those of these nations here. We are abandoned to ourselves; there is no justice, or at least there is no authority to see that justice is rendered. M. Le Gras and some of the principal merchants and inhabitants do all in their power to maintain good order, and they succeed tolerably well. I would not have succeeded in having a church built at this point if the inhabitants of Cahokia had not sent to me a messenger with a request from all the parish to officiate them, offering me some advantages. The inhabitants of Post Vincennes, fearing with reason that I might abandon them, resolved unanimously to build a church ninety feet long and forty-two feet wide on a foundation with studwork, for which a part of the lumber has already been bought, and also a few toises of stone for the foundation. The church will have pillars only seventeen feet high, but the winds are so fierce in this country that even that is quite high for good strength. The house which serves me now as a church will serve me as a priest's house, into which I intend to move in a few months. The lot is large, very dry, and in the midst of the village; it was I myself, together with the marguilliers, who acquired this land sixteen years ago. I beg you to approve of the erection of the new church under the title of St. Francis Xavier on the Wabash, and to command me, in respect to it, to continue building it and to decorate it as far as the poverty of the inhabitants will permit. I shall try my best to interest in its behalf the merchants

who come from all parts to trade at this post, but a word of exhortation from you would do more from a distance than I can do right here; I beg you to grant us this request."⁵

The foregoing is a portion of an extremely lengthy letter which Father Gibault addressed to the bishop, and which treats of many other subjects, including slanders that had been spread concerning him. We have quoted from this letter before, and will have occasion again to deal with it.

As a further indication of the unsettled condition of affairs Father Gibault in this same letter directs the bishop's attention to the apparent conflict of jurisdiction:

"Another affair which demands some attention from you, in order to give me a decision clear and to the point, is the following: Father Ferdinand Farmer, vicar general at Philadelphia elect of the United Provinces of America, writes me, at the order of that bishop M. Carroll, to proclaim a jubilee, which had been retarded by the wars, for all the faithful Catholics in America. I received this charge last winter. I have not even spoken about it and I shall not speak of it till after your orders. It is singular that the address of my letter is to M. Gibault, grand vicar of Monseigneur the Bishop of Quebec, and that I should receive included therewith a charge from another bishop. I would receive more willingly a suspension from my bishop than honors from another. Since I have no certain knowledge of the separation of this part of the diocese of Quebec, I can follow only your orders.

A barefooted German Carmelite, thirty-four years old, with his priest's orders, a certificate from the colonel of the regiment in which he served as chaplain until peace was made, and some letters from the grand vicar granting him the privilege of ministering on the banks of the Mississippi without mention of any place in particular, whose name is Father de St. Pierre, came here a year ago in the name of M. Carroll, bishop elect of America, from whom came his orders. I did not dare say anything to him without your orders, and I did not write to you about it sooner, for he kept saying that he was going to return to France by way of New Orleans. However, he is still in Illinois. He seemed to be very zealous, but with a zeal quite unmanageable for these regions without justice. Thus you will order all that you may judge fit in these affairs."

Months and even years passed, however, and no definite information was given the lonely priest as to his status. The stormy De la Valliniere came and, though entrusted with the powers of vicar general, gave Father Gibault no information or indication regarding his standing, confining his intercourse with him largely to criticisms and

⁵ Quebec Archives.

factionous objections. Nevertheless, Father Gibault proceeded with his pastoral labors, rebuilt the church, and, as was the case everywhere he went, brought back religion and order, and restored peace and prosperity to the community.

In the face of the silence of all his ecclesiastical contemporaries he writes again under date of May 22, 1788, to the Bishop of Quebec, complaining rather bitterly that he was left without information and apparently forgotten, and reverting to the innuendoes contained in former letters which he had received. This letter, however, is more appropriate in a subsequent chapter, for which it is reserved.

The parish records of the old St. Francis Xavier Church at Vincennes show that he was as attentive as ever to all his church duties, and that he there continued his labors until October, 1789, at which time he removed again to Cahokia, and for the first time took up his residence in the establishment of the Fathers of the Foreign Missions, to whom he was credited at the outset of his career, and where he resided and acted as pastor until 1792, at which time he at last gave up the struggle on the Illinois side of the Mississippi, and went over to the Spanish dominion, becoming subject to Spanish authority, both temporal and spiritual.

IX. FATHER GIBAULT ON TRIAL

As has been frequently intimated, Father Gibault's character and reputation were subjected to various attacks. The cases in which men live a long and active life without being attacked and made the subject of criticism are rare indeed. Father Gibault was not in this favored category, and although the attacks were shadowy and extremely uncertain, both as to the identity of the attackers and the substance of the attacks, yet largely from Father Gibault's frank defense, supplemented to a certain extent by other writings, we are able to sketch the various counts in the indictments leveled against him.

For the benefit of the reader the various accusations are first set forth, and the answers thereto then stated.

The first charge or complaint registered against Father Gibault appears in the words of the bishop who consecrated him, John Oliver Briand, and the substance of it is that, contrary to the wishes of the bishop, and unknown to him, Father Gibault permitted his mother to accompany him to the Illinois missions. This charge has been

answered heretofore, and need not be further referred to.¹ The remaining charges may be summed up as follows:

1. That he failed in the discharge of his duty.
2. That he gave cause for scandal.
3. That he remained out late at night.
4. That he was addicted to drink.
5. That he was too favorable to the American cause.
6. That as he grew older he was worn out and feeble.
7. That he asked for and secured a grant of church property in his own name.

Let us now seek the answer to these accusations, in order that the reader may be able to judge of the innocence or culpability of the accused, and, in doing so, let us hear first from the defendant himself. In his letter of June 6, 1786, addressed to Bishop Briand, Father Gibault thus answers all intimations that he had not fully discharged his duties. On this point he says:

“Yes, My Lord, I have always devoted myself to performing all the duties of the holy services. I still do all I can even now to fulfill them, and by the grace of God I shall try to perform them even better in the future. I have enough confidence in our Lord Jesus Christ to hope to banish in a short time barbarism from Post Vincennes, where the inhabitants, and especially the young people, had had no religious teaching for twenty-three years except when I or Mr. Payet happened to pass through there on our short missionary journeys. The inhabitants have been brought up like the savages in the midst of whom they live. I have taught and still teach the catechism to them twice a day, after Mass and before sunset. After each lesson in the catechism, I send away the girls and make the boys repeat the responses of the Mass and the ceremonies of the church for feast-days and Sundays. I devote myself to preaching on feast-days and Sundays as often as it is possible for me to do so. In a word, I have been here for a year and a half; and when I arrived

¹In one of his letters Father Gibault said: “As regards my mother and sister, I can tell you that six days before I left Montreal I did not know that they wished to come with me. On the contrary my mother told me when I was at her house that her age and still more her will prevented her from wishing to leave her country, but I could not send her away, my dear mother, who came to me at Montreal saying that she would go to the ends of the earth (with me) rather than be left in her old age at the mercy of any and everybody.”

Father Meurin, his sole aid in the vest field, also wrote the Bishop:

“His mother, far from being an obstacle to his zeal, is very useful to him by relieving him from temporal cares, and thus making it possible for him to devote himself entirely to spiritual affairs, for we do not find here as in France trustworthy and reliable servants.” Quebec Archives.

here I found no one, either grown up or young, to assist at Mass except an old European who was not always able to come, and then there was no Mass. Two months later I had several of them; and now even the smallest ones in the village know not only how to assist at Mass but also at the ceremonies of the feast-days and Sundays, and all the lesser and greater catechism. I should be well enough pleased with the spiritual condition of the people, were it not for this accursed trade in *caudevie*, which I cannot succeed in uprooting and which obliges me to refuse the sacraments to several, for the savages commit horrible disorders when in liquor; especially those of these nations here. * * * *

Count up, now, all the troubles and poverty that I have suffered in my various journeys to distant places both in winter and in summer, in order to minister to so many villages so far separated in distant Illinois, in good weather or in bad weather, by day or by night, through the snow or through the rain, through wind or tempest or fog on the Mississippi, so that I have not been able to sleep in my own bed more than four times in one year, never delaying my departure even in the very moment in which I was not feeling well myself. How can a priest who sacrifices himself in that manner, without any other end in view than the glory of God and the salvation of his fellowmen, without any gain, almost always badly nourished, not able to attend to the spiritual and the temporal, how, I repeat, can that priest, zealous to perform the duties of his holy office, diligent in keeping watch over his flock, in instructing it on the most important points of religion, not only teaching the young, without ceasing and without relaxing, the Christian doctrine, but also teaching those boys to read and write; how can that priest be known as one who gives cause for scandal and is addicted to drunkenness? This is my case and involves contradiction. A priest given to indolence does not give himself so much trouble, does not trouble himself with a crowd of children to annoy him, does not expose himself to so many dangers, either from the savages or from the water, or the bad weather, nor does he sacrifice all he might gain in constructing churches, having alter-pieces and tabernacles worth a thousand crowns, without counting the rest, at his own cost and expense. If this is not a mark to the contrary then I do not know where to find others. If you do not believe my words in this matter, believe my works, all is extant."²

² A paragraph in another letter written January 10, 1771, reads as follows: "Sometimes in England, sometimes in Spain (meaning, presumably, that he was part of the time in English territory, part in Spanish, etc.); a trip by canoe, one on foot, one or several on horseback; sometimes living well, sometimes fasting several days; sometimes passing several nights without sleeping, at other times not being able to sleep on account of gnats and other more malignant creatures, such as lice, fleas, bedbugs, etc., sometimes too tired to be able to eat or sleep; sometimes trembling with fear through a whole pitch-black night at the foot of a tree or in a dense thicket, at other times running away from the

No defense could be more complete. In addition every letter of Father Gibault's that has been preserved is evidence of his fidelity to the duties of his sacred office, nor is he alone and uncorroborated in his representations. Several letters from the saintly Father Meurin, and heretofore referred to, or quoted from, bear testimony of the untiring zeal of Father Gibault. As time passes new ecclesiastics come into the neighborhood, and each in turn with the exception of the stormy De la Valliniere, lauds the indefatigable priest. The Carmelite, Paul de St. Pierre, whose own character and ministrations, made him eminently worthy of credence, speaks in the highest terms of Father Gibault, and, finally, the parishioners and residents of the several localities which he served, when brought to a comprehension of realities, gave him the highest character, despite the fact that some amongst them had made scandalous and untruthful accusations or captious criticisms.

We may next turn to the intimations to the effect that Father Gibault gave scandal. These insinuations have been made with reference to Father Gibault's association with the Spanish Commandant in St. Louis, and are met by the frank, open statement of Father Gibault:

"As to the rogueries of the commandant of St. Genevieve, he has no equal in the world. At the same time you will not find, perhaps, his equal for all sorts of good qualities. He has been commandant here for ten years and no one has had a single reproach against him. Just, without partiality or exception for anyone, with no confederate either man or woman, disinterested to the last degree, solitary at home, full of religion himself and employing all his authority in having religion rigorously observed, fasting every Wednesday, and observing on that day an abstinence independent of the other days, very benevolent, saying his breviary carefully every day, having studied well and speaking a good Latin; after all that what can one do when he is roguish? To remain quiet, that is all; for to save him is not possible. Neither the governor nor his wife are more sparing than anybody else except in time of serious affairs. You do not know the Spanish nation; for them all is despotism. If you do not go at their invitation, they send you an ordinance which informs you that the welfare or the interest of His Majesty requires you at that moment for the government. What is one to do? One must withdraw as I did, in spite of the advantages had from the king, papers concerning which I am keeping and in which I received some very

Indians at the full speed of my horse * * * sometimes with the rain on my body, sometimes hiding in the trunk of a tree; in the morning freezing with cold. and at noon scorched by the heat of the sun; sometimes full of sorrow, and at other times filled with comfort * * * such is my life at Illinois. Pity me, or rather my soul; pray for it." Alvord, *Illinois Country*, p. 272.

advantageous appointments in the position of missionary to St. Genevieve."³

Somebody had evidently tattled to the bishop to the effect that Father Gibault remained out late at night. To this he makes the following direct answer:

"As for the evenings which they told you I was prolonging till three or four o'clock in the morning, I have been sometimes to wedding-feasts, but I never stayed later than nine or half past nine. The reason is clear: the young people must dance, and I have never seen even the table cleared."⁴

The charge which was intended, of course, to do the greatest damage to Father Gibault was that he drank to excess. With appropriate indignation Father Gibault resents this charge. He says:

"It has been more than a year since I have had no liquor at my house, and I do not even drink a swallow now and then, either of wine or brandy. I think no longer about it. It is not a vow nor a sacrifice; for, whatever may have been related to you, I never had any attachment for any kind of drink, and never did drink more than a swallow of brandy, as a traveler will, not even thinking about it when I had none. It must be that those who told you abominations so atrocious as those you mention in your last letter were incited by the father of lies, or it must be that I reproved them too strongly concerning their vices and bad conduct, for I do not see any cause for their calumny."⁵

As a matter of fact, Father Gibault, if we accept his word in good faith, sustained the character of the illustrious pioneers in the mission field, the long line of Jesuits who unfalteringly and persistently fought the liquor traffic, and in season and out of season inveighed against liquor, doing everything in their power to save their charges from the curse of liquor. This was made plain by another quotation from a lengthy letter of June 6, 1786, written by Father Gibault to the Bishop of Quebec:

"I should be well enough pleased with the spiritual condition of the people were it not for this accursed trade in *caudevie*, which I cannot succeed in uprooting, and which obliges me to refuse the sacraments to several, for the savages commit horrible disorders when in liquor, especially those of these nations here."

Read also this further cry of distress on account of the liquor traffic:

³ Quebec Archives.

⁴ *Ib.*

⁵ *Ib.*

“And what conduct is one to observe in the tribunal of one’s conscience? Since the savages sell their meat, their oil, their tallow only for *caudevie*, which the Spaniards and the English find no difficulty in giving to them, what shall the French do to have some of these commodities? These merchants, moreover, do not wish to sell any except for peltries, which a poor father of a family has not; and therefore, he sees himself reduced to eat corn and drink pure water (to sustain his strength) for his work.”

Unless Father Gibault was deliberately untruthful in this regard, and the mere suspicion of untruthfulness is negated by every known act of the man during the thirty-six years of his strenuous labors in the priesthood, his memory must be cleared of the aspersions cast upon him by tattlers and gossipers.

We now come to the charges against him by British officers and sympathizers, and given credence by the bishops of Quebec, loyal and steadfast in the British cause, that he sympathized with and aided the American cause. To this charge all who have studied the evidence with any care plead guilty for him. This feature of his career has been examined heretofore, and need not be again discussed. It is believed that there is no longer any doubt that Father Gibault was the leading spirit and the principal force in bringing the people of the northwest into sympathy with the American cause, and as a result eventually gaining for the United States all that vast territory included within the present sovereign states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin.⁸

The other charges against Father Gibault had a closer relation to the administration of the Church by the Prefect Apostolic and Bishop of the United States, John Carroll, and may more properly be examined in a separate chapter.

X. NO REWARD OR REQUITAL

Bishop Porteus is credited with the following patriotic expression:

“He who undertakes an occupation of great toil and danger for the purpose of serving, defending and protecting his country is a most valuable and respectable member of society; and if he conducts himself with valor, fidelity and humanity, and amidst the horrors of war cultivates the gentle manners of peace and the virtues of a devout and holy life, he most amply deserves and will assuredly receive the esteem, the admiration and the applause of his grateful

⁶ *Ib.*

⁷ *Ib.*

⁸ See former papers of this series.

country, and what is of still greater importance, the approbation of his God."

This sentiment will be concurred in by all men of intelligence, but it will be found that too often it fails to express the truth. In the case of Father Gibault every one of the qualifications was fulfilled, but no single one of the rewards mentioned has ever been conferred.

It would be quite natural to expect that after the signal services rendered by Father Gibault some effort would have been made to requite him, at least in his necessities. As has been shown, in order to sustain the credit of the new government, which he had so materially aided in establishing, he not only procured the help of his friend, Colonel Vigo, but himself advanced every *livre* he could secure. His household goods, his horse, even his servant, and his tithes, he sacrificed to make good the currency of the new government, under strong representations that his advances would be repaid. The total amount of his advances was 7,800 livres, a fortune for a man of no means. The event shows, however, that no part of the funds advanced was ever repaid him.

Not only that, but he was made to pay a penalty for his patriotism, the most severe that could be exacted against a clergyman, namely, the loss of standing with his superiors. In view of many things that have been said and of charges that will be examined hereafter, it is appropriate to discuss here the grounds for asserting that Father Gibault lost caste with the Bishop of Quebec, especially on account of his aid to the American cause. The evidence of this fact appears in a letter written by Bishop Hubert of Quebec, to the then Prefect Apostolic at Baltimore, John Carroll, dated October 6, 1788:

"True it is that M. Gibault was nominated twenty years ago as vicar general for the Illinois country; but since that time the episcopal see of Quebec has twice changed its incumbent without his faculties having been renewed. Complaints of different kinds, especially a suspicion of treason toward government, caused my predecessors to entertain some antipathy towards him, so much so that I propose to give him no employment for the future. That would be easier for you to do.

I received a letter from him this year in which he asks to come back to the Province of Quebec. After the disadvantageous opinion that the government has formed of him, I cannot prudently consent to his return. Nevertheless, if you judge it proper to continue him as a missionary, I ratify in advance all that you may be pleased to ordain therein, either in regard to him or to other missionaries now there or to be sent. Observe, please that M. de la Valiniere is a man of very good morals but that, as we have experienced in Canada, his turbulent spirit is capable of causing much trouble to his associates.

As for Detroit, I shall continue to send missionaries there as heretofore.

I have the honor to subscribe myself, with sincere veneration, in union with your holy sacrifices, sir, your humble and obedient servant.

(Signed) JEAN FRANÇOIS,
Bishop of Quebec.”¹

It may not be justifiable to infer that this letter from a brother bishop prejudiced Bishop Carroll against Father Gibault. The wording of it though is rather insinuating. The Bishop of Quebec says, “Complaints of different kinds,” adding, “especially a suspicion of treason toward the government, caused my predecessors to entertain some antipathy towards him, so much so that I propose to give him no employment for the future.” While Bishop Carroll may not have been influenced by what is said of “treason toward the government,” he may have been by the suggestion of “complaints of different kinds.”

It is true that Prefect Apostolic Carroll did receive complaints and criticisms other than those suggested by the Bishop of Quebec, which will be further referred to, but the up-shot of the whole matter was that, without his fault, Father Gibault lost the support of his spiritual superiors. It will be necessary to refer to this matter again.

To understand the misfortunes visited upon Father Gibault after the triumph of the American cause, it is necessary to recall the historical sequence of the decades succeeding the revolution.

It has been a matter of some difficulty for casual readers of history to understand the relation of the George Rogers Clark expedition to the war of the revolution. George Rogers Clark was born in Albemarle County, Virginia, November 19, 1752. His birthplace was about one and one-half miles north of Monticello, the home and burial place of Thomas Jefferson. He was accordingly twenty-six years old when he made his famous conquest of the Northwest. He was extraordinarily active as a young man, and before reaching his twentieth birthday he had made an extensive trip into the interior of the country. When he was barely twenty-two he had won his first military honors in the Dunmore war, and as early as 1776, when he was less than twenty-four years of age we find him extremely active in the affairs of Kentucky, which was then the western extreme of the Virginia domain.

Under the Royal grant issued by the British King for the Virginia colony, the grantees, relying upon the clause which purported to

¹ Quebec Archives.

convey a strip of territory between certain parallels of latitude and "from sea to sea," claimed territory beginning on the Atlantic Ocean and continuing westward indefinitely, which included not only Kentucky, but Ohio, Indiana and Illinois as well.

Prior to the revolution the Virginia colony had extended its occupation to Kentucky, and George Rogers Clark and John Gabriel Jones were, on June 6, 1776, selected to represent the people of the Kentucky settlements in the Virginia legislature. Immediately after the election a journey to the seat of government at Williamsburg, Virginia, was begun. On arriving at Williamsburg, after traveling seven hundred miles, they found the legislature had adjourned some five days previous, but Clark was persistent and determined to confer with the governor, who was none other than the great patriot and orator, Patrick Henry. He was received courteously and provided with a favorable letter to the Executive Council of the Commonwealth.

Appearing before the Executive Council Clark told of the situation and location of the British posts in Kaskaskia, Vincennes and Detroit, and proposed an expedition for the purpose of capturing these posts. By his earnestness and winning address he won over the Executive Council. Amongst the arguments used by Clark it is said that he declared that if Virginia claimed the western country Virginia should aid in its protection, and that "the country that was not worth defending was not worth claiming." His principal request was for gunpowder, and on August 23, 1776, an order was entered that five hundred pounds of gunpowder be forthwith sent to Pittsburgh, and delivered to the commanding officer of that station, by him to be safely kept, and delivered to George Rogers Clark, or his order.

When the legislature met again Clark and Jones were present. They were not admitted as members of the body, but were permitted to maintain close relations with it in an advisory way. Legislation was secured recognizing the Kentucky country, and providing for its organization as a county by the name of Kentucky County.

Clark now obtained authorization from the Governor and Executive Council, composed of Thomas Jefferson, George Mason and George Wythe, to raise a force and attempt the conquest of the British posts of the Northwest.

We have already seen how this mission was effected. It remains therefore, but to explain that, although the commonwealth of Virginia was a constituent part of the federation of states or colonies that had joined in the Declaration of Independence and the prosecu-

tion of the Revolutionary War, yet it maintained a separate entity and undertook the Clark enterprise independently of the federation, intending to secure the invaded territory to the commonwealth, and hold it, when secured, as a part of the state of Virginia.

To effect the conquest men and means were necessary, and Clark was authorized to raise volunteers in the home counties. Eventually a company was also raised in Kentucky. To defray expenses the Virginia Assembly authorized the appropriation of twelve hundred pounds, which Clark brought with him in Virginia scrip, and which depreciated in value until it became worthless. This scrip was all dumped upon the inhabitants of Kaskaskia and the surrounding territory, and in addition much more continental currency, and even gold, which was furnished by Oliver Pollock of New Orleans, who became the financial agent, not only of the federation, but also of the commonwealth of Virginia, was expended in the Clark conquest.

It was this Virginia scrip which Father Gibault and his firm friend, Colonel Francis Vigo, undertook to sustain, that crippled both these patriots financially.

Succeeding the Clark conquest the legislature of Virginia made the captured territory, including what is now the states of Illinois and Indiana, a county of Virginia, and named it Illinois County. For a time Clark himself remained at Kaskaskia as governor or commandant, but soon thereafter John Todd of Kentucky was named governor, and came to Kaskaskia to administer the government.

It is no reflection upon either Clark or Todd to say that the new rulership was a dismal failure. Although the war had resulted in favor of the Federation and the Continental Congress had been succeeded by the Federal Congress and a president, the Mississippi region received little attention as it was far removed from the seat of government. In addition a burning question had arisen concerning the right of Virginia to hold its claimed western possessions, and demanding that the territory be turned over to the general government. This conflict extended over a period of years, and while it waged scarcely no attention was paid to the settled parts of the western territory. As Father Gibault put it in a letter to the bishop, written from Ste. Genevieve, April 1, 1783:

“The Illinois people are more unfortunate than they were. After having been ruined and worn out by the Virginians and left without a commandant, without truce and without justice, they are governing

themselves by whim and caprice; or, to put it better, by the law of the strongest.”²

Another letter, written from Kaskaskia, May 10, 1780, to George Rogers Clark, illustrating the suavity and resourcefulness, as well as the diplomatic spirit under serious difficulties, is interesting:

“Mr. G. R. Clark,
Sir:—

We have been greatly disappointed in not having the pleasure of seeing you in our village. The joy was general when we knew that you were so near us. The kindness and benefits you showed us during your stay here gave us the promise of the same when you should return. I was not one of those who desired you with the least ardor. You know my heart; and, if the public affairs of my ministry did not demand my presence, I should have given myself the pleasure and honor of making you a visit in your new establishment; but I hope that it is only a postponement and that another opportunity will find me less occupied. We are very poor and destitute of all things. We are impatiently expecting the village boats. We fear the savages and the evilly disposed people who are urging them to kill us. In a word we are truly in a sad situation. In spite of all this we are of good courage and are so good Americans that we are ready to defend ourselves to the death against any who attack us. I pray you to accept my respects and to employ me in any way in my power for your service. I always have true pleasure in being useful to you and in calling myself with all possible consideration,

Your very humble and obedient servant,
P. GIBAUT, Priest.”³

The foregoing letter to Bishop Briand is but a mild statement of the conditions existing in the locality. The people were absolutely impoverished and, of course, Father Gibault was without means.

In this situation he asked Congress to redeem the promises made by Clark and his agents, and repay the advances made by him. In a letter written several years after (May 1, 1790), addressed to Governor Arthur St. Clair, this attempt is described by Father Gibault himself. Memorializing the new governor of the region Father Gibault, speaking in the third person, says:

“That from the moment of the conquest of the Illinois country by Colonel George Rogers Clark (your memorialist) has not been backward in venturing his life on the many occasions in which he

² The best account of all incidents connected with the Clark Conquest will be found in Consul Wiltshire Butterfield's *History of George Rogers Clark's Conquest*.

³ Dr. MSS. 50J37—Also quoted in Alvord, *Illinois Historical Collections*, Vol. 5, p. 518.

found that his presence was useful and at all times sacrificing his property which he gave for the support of the troops at the same price that he could have received the Spanish milled dollars and for which, however, he has received only paper dollars of which he has had no information since he sent them, addressed to the Commissioner of Congress who required a statement of the depreciation of them at the Ohio River in 1783—with an express promise in reply that particular attention should be paid to his account because it was well known to be in no wise exaggerated. In reality; he parted with his tithes and his beasts only to set an example to his parishioners. * * * The love of country and of liberty has also led your memorialist to reject all the advantages offered him by the Spanish government and he endeavored by every means in his power by assertions and exhortations and by appeals to the principal inhabitants to retain every person in the dominion of the United States in expectation of better times giving them to understand that our lives and property having been employed twelve years in the aggrandizement and preservation of the United States would at least receive an acknowledgment and be compensated by the enlightened and upright masters who, sooner or later, would come to examine into and relieve us from our situation.”⁴

Despite his signal services and his urgent necessities no part of the monies advanced by him was ever repaid. It was no consolation to Father Gibault and, of course, adds nothing in the way of satisfaction that he was not the only sufferer. His friend, Colonel Vigo, made similar advances, to the extent of more than \$12,000, and many of the inhabitants of Kaskaskia and the neighboring communities also suffered heavy losses as a result of the expenses of the Clark conquest.

The greatest sufferer of all, however, was the fiscal agent, Oliver Pollock, who used his good offices with the Spanish governor to secure funds with which Virginia discharged some of the expenses of the Clark conquest, on the faith that Virginia would reimburse the Spanish treasury. Virginia failing to do so, Pollock was held personally liable, and cast into the debtor's prison, after all his personal resources had been taken for partial liquidation of the debt. So much for the funds advanced and lost.

When, eventually, there was a compromise effected, and Virginia transferred the western territory claimed by it to the United States Government, Congress begun to pay some attention to the remote dwellers on the Mississippi and the Wabash, and passed laws confirming to the residents of these localities the properties which they occupied, to the extent of 160 acres as a homestead, allotted to the

⁴ *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. 1, p. 21.

heads of families. Father Gibault, however, was not the head of a family, being celibate, and consequently gained nothing under the Acts of Congress.

An incident in this connection, however, demonstrates not only his continued popularity, but also his solicitude for the people with whom he had been so long and intimately associated. In the law, setting aside a homestead for the residents, it was provided that those who claimed a homestead should be required to have the same surveyed at their own expense. Impoverished as they were they were utterly unable to pay the expense of a survey, and in their desperation they again appealed to their trusted leader, who wrote the Commissioner of Congress as follows:

“Your Excellency is an eye witness of the poverty to which the inhabitants are reduced, and of the total want of provisions to subsist on. Not knowing where to find a morsel of bread to nourish their families, by what means can they support the expense of a survey which has not been sought for on their parts, and for which it is conceived by them, there is no necessity. Loaded with misery and groaning under the weight of misfortunes since the Virginia troops entered their country, the unhappy inhabitants throw themselves under the protection of your Excellency, and take the liberty to solicit you to lay their deplorable situation before Congress.”⁵

In response to this appeal, transmitted by the governor of the Northwest territory to Congress, the law requiring the inhabitants to pay for surveying their lands was amended as follows:

“Section 8: And be it further enacted that so much of the Act of Congress of the 28th day of August One thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight as refers to the location of certain tracts of land, directed to be run out and reserved for donations to the ancient settlers in the Illinois country, be and the same is hereby repealed, and the governor of the said territory is directed to lay out the same agreeable to the Act of Congress of the 20th of June one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight.”⁶

Such a favorable impression did Father Gibault make upon Congress that it devoted another section of the Act containing this repeal and amendment to him, as follows:

“Section 7: And be it further enacted that two lots of land heretofore in the occupation of the priests at Cahokia, and situated near that village, be and the same is hereby granted in fee to P. Gibault, and that a tract of land at Kaskaskia, formerly occupied by the Jes-

⁵ Published in *St. Clair Papers*, Vol. 1, p. 165.

⁶ See *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. 1, pp. 221-2.

uits, be laid off and confirmed to St. Jean Beauvais, who claims the same by virtue of a purchase thereof.”⁷

Thus Congress undertook the disposition of part of the Church property in Illinois.

As we are to consider the question of properties further in connection with Father Gibault, it need but be said here that Father Gibault never received the lots at Cahokia granted him by Congress. He never received or asked for any other.

Though, as we shall see, Father Gibault lived until the year 1804, eleven years after the close of the revolution, and sixteen years after he had advanced all his means for the American cause, he never was remunerated or rewarded in any way.

In speaking of the ingratitude shown Father Gibault, Mr. Dunn says:

“In truth, our French friends fared badly under the American rule, and none so badly as Father Gibault who did not get any return in land as a militiaman or the head of a family and lost his ecclesiastical support on account of the change of jurisdiction. He never received a particle of compensation from Virginia or the United States for his services, and he never received one cent of repayment for money and goods actually furnished to our troops. The situation seems almost incredible, but it was a horrible reality.”⁸

Mr. English, in his valuable work, “The Conquest of the Northwest,” says:

“There is no reason, however, why his great services should not have been properly recognized, but they never were. As far as the author is advised, no county, town or post office bears his name; no monument has been erected to his memory, and no headstone marks his grave, as its location is entirely unknown. It is well for him that he could turn to the religion of which he had been so faithful a servant and find consolation in the trust that there was a heaven where meritorious deeds, such as his, find reward, since they were so poorly appreciated and requited on earth.”⁹

(The next paper treats of Father Gibault’s relations with Bishop Carroll.)

JOSEPH J. THOMPSON.

Chicago.

⁷ *Ib.*

⁸ Paper read before Illinois State Historical Society, and published in Transactions of that Society—1905.

⁹ *Conquest of the Northwest*, pp. 189–90.

A DAUGHTER OF THE PLAINS

On the plains of Kansas, near the city of Topeka, the remnant of the Pottawattami tribe, originally a component part of the once great and powerful Algonquin family of North American Indians, found a last safe refuge-place. Thither they had drifted from Michigan and Northern Wisconsin. They were never very numerous. When in 1838 the government settled them on the banks of the Missouri, the whole tribe numbered less than 4,000, the majority of them being roving, uncivilized pagans. Subsequently a part of the tribe was removed with some Chippewas and Ottawas, but they eventually joined others or disappeared. Those who were settled in Kansas embraced for the greater part the Catholic religion, mostly through the indefatigable ministrations of that illustrious Indian Missionary, Father De Smet, S. J. They soon erected schools and churches and adapted themselves to the white man's habits and customs. After varied experiences, however, this Prairie band gradually grew less and less, until today its remainder numbers but a few hundred survivors.

One of their prominent chiefs of more recent years was Pe-she-quin, the grandfather of our subject, a fearless man on the side of right and justice, who, with others, signed the treaty on February 27, 1867, the policy of which was to give individual Indians a conditional title to their several tracts of land. This experience, however, met with varied success. Some did well and improved, others squandered their lands and their portion of the funds and became paupers. Pe-she-quin died at a ripe age, sincerely mourned by the members of his tribe, to whom he had proved at all times a powerful defender and great moral support. But he left but scanty means for the support of his family, which by fishing and hunting and the monthly government rations he tried hard to sustain. Wabaunsee, the old chief's son, led to the bridal altar Sacco, a young prepossessing Pottawattami maiden of some eighteen summers, and installed her as squaw in a rather unpretentious bark hut, there to preside as mistress over his improvised hearth and home. Sacco was not then, nor is she yet today, a convert either to the Catholic or to any other religion. She still listens to the whisperings of the wind and the murmurings of the brook as the voice of the great Manitou, looking forward to the day when her now exhausted and weary body shall be transported to the often dreamed-of happy hunting grounds. Withal she proved a faithful and loving companion and wife to Wabaunsee, sharing his

lot of poverty and privation uncomplainingly, preferring to remain a "blanket Indian" to this very day. In the course of their married life, she became the mother of seven children, four of whom died in early age. The baby girl, Elisabeth, the heroine of this sketch, was born to them March 17, 1897.

She grew up as every other Indian child was wont to grow up, inured to privations and hardships from her earliest days. As a little papoose she accompanied her mother on her daily errands and rounds of duties, being safely tucked away in a primitive shawl-cradle, securely strapped to her mother's back. From this place of vantage her wistful, liquid eyes absorbed the first impressions of the strange outer-world, especially when carried through the streets of the nearby city. In the evening hours when father and mother would squat in their humble cabin before a bright burning log-fire, Sacco's mother love would croon some vernacular lullaby to little Elisabeth to put the child to sleep. The venison of the prairie and the fish of the Kansas River constituted her main means of living. As the months rolled into years, she became a docile and affectionate child, and, to the unfeigned joy of the parents, every day beheld rare dispositions of heart and mind develop in the girl. At the age of six, little Elisabeth entered the Primary Schools on the Reservation, and these finished, was admitted as pupil to the Haskell Institute, where she acquitted herself most creditably in all branches of her studies, especially in the Commercial course. It was now the summer of 1916 and Elisabeth was 19 years old. She must soon decide for after-life. Was she to marry into her tribe and become the squaw of some poor Pottawattami youth who could at best promise her but a life of continuous care and drudgery. No, decidedly No, and her anxious father said emphatically No! "My child," said the old Indian to his daughter, "our people, the Indians, are to a great extent shifters, lazy and bad, therefore have nothing to do with them. Go to a place where you remain good and virtuous." Having received a thorough religious education from the zealous priest on the Reservation, Elisabeth had already decided to consecrate her life to the service of God and suffering humanity. Many a prayer had she said and many a Holy Communion offered up to this end, namely, that she be enabled to join some religious community and thus be retired from the world and its evil influences.

But whither should she go? At what Convent door was she to knock? Who would take a kindly interest in this forlorn red-skinned Indian maiden from the Pottawattomi tribe of the plains of Kansas?

After several fruitless and ineffectual attempts, the plaintive

pleading of this dear, fluttering dove reached the ears of sympathetic and generous hearted Mother Marciana of the Franciscan Sisters of St. John's Hospital of Springfield, Ill. Has our Lord ever discriminated between white, black or copper-colored children in the dispensation of His graces and blessings? Neither did this motherly mother, good Sister Marciana. It was a day of general rejoicing in the whole community when our Indian maiden, Elisabeth, crossed the hospital threshold and its portals swung wide open to receive her. She had landed in a haven of safety and rest where every one greeted her with a greeting of sincerest welcome. Her heart's desire, long harbored within her, was finally fulfilled, her application to become a Sister of Charity was duly considered and favorably acted upon, for since April 4, 1916, our Prairie Maiden is no longer known to the world as Elisabeth Wabaunsee, but since that day she is called by the name of Sister Emanuela, O. S. F., wearing the humble garb of a Franciscan Sister of Charity, ministering to the sick and suffering at the St. Mary's Hospital of D., Illinois.

Sister Emanuela is an accomplished professional nurse. Her examination, together with that of many other young sisters before the State Board of Examiners, was a triumph. Those immediately interested in this Indian Sister's educational qualifications and mental endowments were justly surprised at the clear and lucid answers and explanations given by her without hesitancy, fear or reserve. No less pleased at the result was, of course, the kind hearted Mother Superior, whose benevolent countenance radiated happy satisfaction and contentment when told of her ward's splendid showing. Ever since then has Sister Emanuela been employed as practical nurse. Those who have experienced her professional ministration in the capacity of trained nurse are loud in their unstinted praise of her vocational accomplishments, tender care and scrupulous exactitude wherewith she carries out her chosen profession. How it must have thrilled the soul of good old Wabaunsee when recently he journeyed forth from his far-off Reservation home in Kansas towards Springfield to pay a visit to his beloved daughter, Elisabeth, the Flower from the Land of the Pottawattamies, to greet her as Sister Emanuela, O. S. F., and to deliver Sacco's present to her cherished child, a pair of embroidered moccasins and a fine belt in finished flower bead-work. God's ways are wonderful.

(REV.) A. ZURBONSEN.

Springfield.

Illinois Catholic Historical Society

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EDITORIAL COMMENT

How the Church Came to Illinois. Nearly one hundred years before any white man of any other religious persuasion than Catholic trod upon the soil of Illinois, the Catholic Church was officially established in Illinois, the exact date being April 11 (Holy Thursday), 1675.

Prior to this momentous event Rev. James Marquette, S. J., and Louis Jolliet discovered the Mississippi River, and discovered and partially explored Illinois.

Father Marquette was born at Laon, in the Province of Champagne, in France, on June 10, 1637 was ordained a Jesuit priest October 8, 1654, and arrived in Quebec September 20, 1666. Immediately upon his arrival he began missionary work amongst the Indian tribes, and while he was located at one of the missions on Lake Superior, Indians of the Illinois tribes, in their wanderings about the country, came to Father Marquette's mission, and becoming acquainted with him told him of the Illinois country, the great river that flowed near it, and urged him to come and establish a mission amongst them.

Thereafter Father Marquette experienced a great desire to visit the Illinois country and establish the Church. These wishes he communicated to his superiors and associates, and in time the Governor of Canada was moved to attempt further exploration, and for that purpose directed Louis Jolliet and Father Marquette to undertake such exploration.

Leaving the Mission of St. Ignace at the point where Mackinac is now located, on the 17th of May, 1673, Father Marquette and Jolliet passed through Green Bay up the Fox River to its source, thence by portage to the Wisconsin River, out of which they sailed into the Mississippi River on the 17th of June, and thus discovered the "Father of Waters" which Father Marquette named the River of the Conception. The explorers continued their course down the Mississippi to the mouth of the Arkansas River, then retraced their way to the mouth of the Illinois River, which they entered, driving their canoes up-stream, stopping first at what is now Peoria for three days, where Father Marquette preached the gospel to the Indians, and as he was leaving, at the water's edge, baptised a dying Indian child. Proceeding up the river they again stopped on the plains near what is now Utica, in La Salle County, Illinois, virtually under the shadow of the great rock, afterwards known as Starved Rock.

Here Father Marquette found the Kaskaskia tribe of the Illinois family of Indians, and upon their earnest entreaties promised to return soon and establish the Church amongst them.

From the Kaskaskia village the explorers pushed on up the river, transporting their canoes from the upper regions of the Illinois to some one of the other rivers, the Kankakee, the Calumet or the Chicago River, through which they entered Lake Michigan, and rowed as far as the Jesuit mission at DePère, Wisconsin, where they arrived in the latter part of September, and where Father Marquette remained until October of the following year, suffering all the time from a severe illness.

As soon as his health would permit Father Marquette begun his promised return to the Kaskaskia Indians, and arrived at the mouth of the Chicago River, then located at the end of what is now Madison Street, on the 4th of December, 1674. Here he and his two companions remained for seven days, during which time Mass was celebrated daily. The canoes were then drawn out of the water up on the ice of the Chicago River, and dragged some six miles to a point on the South branch of the Chicago River, at about where the present Robey Street intersects the Drainage Canal. There a cabin was built, and Father Marquette and the two Frenchmen lived there until the 29th of March, 1675.

On that date Father Marquette again set out for the Kaskaskia village, where he arrived on April 8. After speaking to the Indian villagers in their wigwams for three days full preparation was made for the establishment of the Church.

Accordingly, on the 11th of April, being Holy Thursday, on a beautiful prairie near the town the great ceremony took place. The ground around was spread with mats and bear skins, and upon cords stretched for the purpose quantities of cloth were hung, upon which were attached four large pictures of the Blessed Virgin, arranged so as to be visible on all sides. Within the enclosure was a rude altar. This first congregation was composed of five hundred chiefs and old men seated in a circle around the altar, while the youths stood without to the number of fifteen hundred, and still beyond these were the women and children. The total audience numbered more than 2500.

After speaking to this strange auditory of Christ and his Church, Father Marquette offered up the Mass, and then officially founded the Catholic Church in the Illinois country, naming the unit there established the Mission of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

The life record of this saintly missionary thereafter is but brief. Feeling the call of death upon him he bade his new formed congregation farewell on the succeeding Sunday (Easter), and undertook to return to the Mission of St. Ignace. It was, however, decreed otherwise, for as his attendants paddled the frail canoe along the eastern shores of Lake Michigan, and when they arrived at the mouth of a little river, since known as the Marquette River, Father Marquette was obliged to go on shore, and lying down on a rude couch made from leaves of the trees he yielded up his spirit on the 18th of May, 1675.

There in a rude grave prepared by his attendants Father Marquette's remains rested for two years, when they were removed by a party of Indians who knew him in his lifetime, and were buried on Whit-Tuesday, June 8, 1677, in the mission chapel near Point St. Ignace, at the head of what is called East Moran Bay. There they were discovered September 3, 1877 by Very Rev. E. Jucker, and a monument was erected at the spot. Part of the remains, however, were removed, and some of the precious relics are carefully guarded in Marquette College, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Two Marquette Observances. Announced. The present year, 1923, being the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the first journey of Father Marquette down the Mississippi and up the Illinois Rivers will be observed by various ceremonies and celebrations. Already two have been announced. On the 8th of August exercises will be held by the State Council of the Knights of Columbus on the Mississippi River near Quincy. The exact nature of the celebration has not yet been settled upon, but it is to be appropriate to the occasion. On the 15th of August a bronze monument will be begun at the Harrison Technical High School, Chicago. This memorial will contain the figure of Father Marquette in the center of the group, Joliet to the right and Chicagou, the great Algonquin chief, to the left. The monument is being erected by the Chicago Art Institute and will rise near the site of Marquette and Joliet's itinerary down the Chicago River in August, 1673. Most Reverend George William Mundelein, D. D., Archbishop of Chicago, will be invited to deliver the principal address..

FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Fifth Annual Meeting of the Illinois Catholic Historical Society was held in the Quigley Memorial Seminary, December 11, 1922.

The regular date of the annual meeting is December 4th, fixed in commemoration of the landing of Father Marquette from Lake Michigan at the mouth of the Chicago River, then located at what is now the foot of Madison Street, on December 4, 1674.

This date is very close also to the anniversary of the admission of the State of Illinois into the Union, viz., December 3rd, and on former occasions the program has been more or less devoted to a commemoration of the admission.

The meeting was preceded by Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament in the beautiful chapel of the seminary. After this impressive ceremony the members assembled in the auditorium to enjoy the program, which had been prepared by the committee in charge.

Reverend Frederick Siedenburger, S. J., president of the Illinois Catholic Historical Society, opened the meeting with a brief and characteristic address of welcome, in which he congratulated the members on their interest in the affairs of the Society, called their attention to the growth of the organization, and gave a detailed account of its financial condition.

Father Siedenburger introduced Rt. Rev. Monseignor Francis A. Purcell, who expressed the regret of Archbishop Mundelein that a bad cold prevented his attendance. In the name of the archbishop Mgr. Purcell commended the society for its excellent work, and assured the members of His Grace's interest in its future.

Mr. P. J. Lucey, former Attorney-General of Illinois, told of the valuable work which the society was doing in bringing to light the important part played by Catholics in the history of Illinois and the Middle West.

Rev. George T. McCarthy spoke most eloquently on the subject, "History Is Basic and Fundamental."

The editor of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, Mr. Joseph J. Thompson, spoke on "Father Marquette and the Illinois

Country.” This is a topic in which Mr. Thompson is particularly interested and he succeeded in the short time at his disposal in making such a selection of materials that his account was noticeably well balanced and vital.

At the close of this address Judge Michael F. Girtten offered a resolution that The Illinois Catholic Historical Society urge the due and proper observance of the 250th anniversary of Father Marquette’s labors in Illinois.

At the close of the meeting the president, Father Siedenburger, noticing in the audience Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, president of the Illinois State Historical Society and a member of The Illinois Catholic Historical Society, asked him to say a few words.

Dr. Schmidt offered his congratulations on the growth of the Society, and the excellence of its work. He called attention to the fact that if Catholic history in Illinois has been somewhat slighted in the Centennial publications, it was due to the fact that the material was not available. He expressed his belief that Catholics themselves were somewhat to blame for not co-operating more actively to get the Catholic history of the state into print. It was for this reason, he said, that he welcomed the foundation of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY, and hoped for its success.

MARGARET MADDEN,
Secretary.

HISTORY IS BASIC AND FUNDAMENTAL

(Address of Rev. George T. McCarthy at Fifth Annual Meeting of the Illinois Catholic Historical Society.)

The first use I desire to make of the invitation so graciously accorded me by your worthy committee to share with you the pleasure and the inspiration of this occasion shall be to declare my deep appreciation of the honor. Any occasion having to do with that department of science—History—which Bacon reminds us “makes men wise, as Reading maketh a full man, and Logic able to contend,” must of necessity be worth while. Defined as the narrative of past events for the instruction of mankind, there was need of it in the days of Hamurabi and Mores, of Herodotus and Plutarch as there is need of it today and ever must be need of it; and the *raison d’etre* of its need is found in the fact that it is by nature basic and elemental;

essentially concerned with source forces, held and shared by men in common, as drink from a common fountain, air from a common sky.

The first page of Genesis is both Revelation and History; it indicates basically the origin of all creatures; it lays the foundation to the whole super-structure of human endeavor; and he who would fail to grasp the facts of creation therein religiously revealed and historically affirmed, remains, to that extent, without the pale of life's intelligible understanding. Arbitrarily distort that basic page by one jot or tittle; read into it any meaning unsanctioned by Truth; do violence to that Fountain head; and you divert, into alien and unhallowed channels, the whole stream of human life.

Essentially a testator, a witness, a giver of evidence, history derives its sanction from known facts. The historian, or he who serves in the sanctuary of History, must be pre-eminently truthful and well-informed. His vocation is second only to the Priesthood. He must speak "*sicut habens auctoritatem*," himself "mindful of his solemn charge." He must never for a single moment forget that he is a witness, a *relator of facts*. Neither dare he confound certain known facts with speculative opinion. Criticism is not History. The first element of a scientific history, indeed, is that it should be set out by wise, clear-sighted and impartial criticism. Private opinion, however brilliant and illuminating it may be, is not to be confounded with History: though they are companionable subjects, Criticism and History must ever remain distinct.

Our Courts of Law require that he who would testify in evidence, must tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. It is required that he not only bear witness to actually personally known reality, but, as well, that he suppress nothing that might reasonably modify it, or add anything that might alter it. Surely as much should be expected of the historian! Neither shall he dare to bear false witness against his neighbor, nor shall he, for any reason, personal or otherwise, leave out or add to a single word, sentence or inference that might reasonably influence any conclusion unwarranted by fact.

Now precisely because certain pseudo historians, especially since the Reformation period, have, in this manner, offended; have substituted personal speculative opinion for historical fact; so eminent an historian as Count de Maistre has said: "The history of the last three centuries is a general conspiracy against the truth;" and the late illustrious Pontiff Leo XIII, declared: "Now, if ever, it may justly be said, that the art of writing history would seem to be a conspiracy against the truth."

That the history of the Church should have been singled out for misrepresentation by her opponents need not surprise us. Christ foretold that His Church would be persecuted—a sign that would be contradicted. “If you had been of the world, the world would love its own.” (John XV.) For purposes of persecution, the pen is fully as destructive as the sword.

Various examples, taken from current English literature, strikingly illustrate a few of the crimes committed, in the name of History, against the Catholic Church, or her children. In most instances the historian cleverly avoids any direct charge against her. He is shrewd enough to appreciate that such a course would be easily detected, and in enlightened communities, promptly refuted. Rather does he employ the indirect manner of attack—suppression of material evidence, insinuation, innuendo, distortion of fact or motive. Thus Prescott (Ferdinand and Isabella, page 364) having employed Llorente as his material witness in effort to lay the blame for the sanguinary Spanish Inquisition at the door of the Catholic Church, withholds, to an obscure addenda note, unnoticed by the average reader, the statement: “Llorente, after all, is not very trustworthy.” The Encyclopedia Britannica, in its article, “Missions to the Heathens,” page 515, conspicuously withholds mention of *Catholic* activity. While giving in elaborate detail, fulsome praise to non-Catholic Evangelization work, it passes over in comparative silence, the surpassingly splendid service our Holy Mother the Church has rendered this noble cause in every age and to every people.

Numerous examples, drawn from the historical development of Illinois, are impressively illuminating. Approaching the centennial celebration of the entry into the Union of our State, the Legislature authorized the creation of a Commission to prepare and write a suitable History of Illinois; appropriating generously to cover the expense entailed. This literary work, in elaborate form, is now complete and on the shelves of our libraries. On the important subject of “Education” in the State, while elaborate details are recorded setting forth non-Catholic activities in this regard, practically no mention is made of the splendid contribution made to Education by Catholics. Nothing is said concerning the four universities, six seminaries, fifty-three colleges and academies, twenty-seven high schools, five hundred eight parochial having an enrollment of over 200,000. No mention is made of the fact that the very building used to house our first State Legislature at Vandalia, 1818-1820, had been the first college, erected and conducted by the Jesuits over one hundred years

before. Omission of facts so pertinent to the subject of Education reflects, to say the least, little credit on the research work of the compilers of the State History. Complaint is frequently made that the State of Virginia has been conspicuously neglectful of the memory and services of her distinguished men; but what has Illinois done for certain outstanding sons we here may recall?

"Clarum et Venerabile," the name of Marquette, first white man to come to her borders! Yet in all the State we find no city, or river bearing his name. It remained for Wisconsin to erect a monument to his memory at Washington. Tonti, heroic Italian, who stood firm in the forefront of civilization when wilderness was king! Father Gibault, first to champion the cause of American freedom and greet, at Old Kaskaskia, the forces of George Rogers Clark. Surely these are names worthy of our State's remembrance; and to pass them over in silence is a suppression of historic fact execrable in the extreme.

Another Catholic name and memory that has been and is today unjustly treated by pseudo historians, is Commodore John Barry, Father of the American Navy. While the name of John Paul Jones has been conspicuously receiving the highest and foremost measure of praise, in certain current literature, for distinguished Naval service, as a matter of fact and authentic historical record John Barry's record and service for the United States is far more brilliant and meritorious. Jones was in command of but one American ship in actual combat with the enemy, the "Bon Homme Richard," whereas Barry commanded five different ships in actual engagement, "the Lexington," "Effingham," "Raleigh," "Delaware," and "Alliance." Where Jones captured, while thus engaged, but one ship, the "Serapis," Barry captured ten, the "Roebuck," "Edward," "Experiment," "Unicorn," "Harlem," "Mars," "Minerva," "Atlanta," "Trepassy," and "Sybille." Jones never did belong to the United States Navy as now organized, having resigned before 1789 and joined the Russian Navy. Barry, on the other hand, was constantly in our naval service from 1775 to the administration of President Jefferson in 1802. Moreover, he was the first commissioned and ranking officer, not only of the Continental but of the United States Navy. Yet with all this truly meritorious service to the credit of Barry what do we find? By Act of Congress there was erected last year in the National Cemetery at Arlington an impressive Colonnade memorializing our fourteen greatest naval heroes. Be it to our national shame to record that among all those fourteen the name of

Barry is not so much as mentioned! Surely the time is at hand for all honest citizens of the Republic, without distinction of creed or class, to unite in protest against such patent unmerited discrimination. If we are to have History, let those who write it be made to realize, that, before the bar of Truth, they shall not bear false witness against their neighbor; that they shall tell the Truth, the whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth.

MISCELLANY

SACRED SPOTS IN ILLINOIS

Even our non-Catholic brethren have come to agree with us that the places where the earliest white men visited within our borders are at least places of great note, and indeed some such have gone much farther than Catholics themselves have been able to do; that is, they have either provided or offered funds for the marking of many of these historic places.

For the Catholics especially there are several places within the present boundaries of Illinois that are of peculiar interest. Without dwelling upon all of them, but taking in chronological order a few of the most notable, it may be pointed out that there is no doubt of the fact that Father James Marquette, S. J., landed at the mouth of the Chicago River, which was then about where the end of Madison Street would be if it were carried forward to the lake front, at least some point on what we now know as Grant Park, in Chicago. The date of the landing of the great apostle and missionary was December 4, 1674. There is no doubt but that he celebrated the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass there several times during his stay of seven days. There is no doubt that he traversed the course of the Illinois River, although it was frozen over with six inches of ice, up to the forks of the river, thence southwesterly along the southern branch for a distance of two leagues from the mouth. There is no doubt that he remained at a point two leagues from the lake in a cabin during the remainder of December and all of January, February and March, 1675, and that he celebrated Mass there every day, and completed a novena prior to February 9, 1675.

From this point he proceeded to a point corresponding to the site of the modern city of Utica in La Salle County, and there, on the 11th of April, 1675, established the Catholic Church of Illinois, and named the first mission The Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin.

So much for Father Marquette and the northeastern part of the state.

Amongst important events, such as are highly deserving of commemoration, may be mentioned the martyrdom of Father Gabriel de Ribourde, a recollect Franciscan, at a point near Morris, Illinois. Father Ribourde, accompanied Robert Cavalier Sieur de La Salle, on his first journey through Illinois, and remaining in company with

Henri de Tonti and Father Zenobe Membre, he with his two companions was driven away by the Indians from the village of the Illinois, and obliged to escape in a canoe. After rowing up the river from a point near what is now known as Starved Rock, about eight leagues, the boat became leaky, and its occupants were obliged to land. While Fathers Membre and Tonti were repairing the canoe Father Ribourde, who was a man near eighty years of age, wandered off reading his breviary; was attacked by a band of Kickapoo Indians, and killed, the first to shed his blood for the Faith in Illinois. A memorial is due the memory of this devoted missionary, and the scene of his death should be a situs of pious pilgrimage.

The first structures used for Christian ministrations in Illinois in their order were a cabin on the lake front at the foot of Madison Street, occupied as a residence and church by Father Marquette; another cabin two leagues up the Chicago River at a point corresponding to the junction of Robey Street and the drainage canal; a chapel on the summit of what has now become known as Starved Rock, in which Claude Jean Allouez, S. J., Father James Gravier, S. J., Father Julien Bineteau, S. J., Father François Pinet, S. J., and Father Pierre Gabriel Marest, S. J., besides others, offered up the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass during the years from 1675 to 1700.

In the year 1699 a chapel was built at what is now Cahokia, under the direction of Father François Pinet, S. J., amongst the Cahokia and Tamaroa tribes of the Indians. This was a flourishing establishment and continued amongst the Indians and for the French settlers all through the missionary period. A very interesting fact in connection with this establishment is that it still exists under the name originally given it; that is, the Mission, Church of the Holy Family. Further interest is added to this establishment in the fact that a church built in missionary times during the years 1796 to 1799, still stands a substantial and pleasing structure, no doubt the oldest standing structure in the Mississippi valley. Still greater interest attaches to this foundation in the greatness of the holy men who ministered there. After the Jesuits a long line of priests of the Foreign Missions from the Seminary of Quebec had charge. Then came members of the distinguished band of Jesuit missionaries. After these two of the most successful of the Sulpitians who labored in the west, Rev. Michael Levadoux and Rev. Gabriel Richard. Both of these great Divines labored in the building of the church now standing in Cahokia, and both afterwards became very distinguished.

Father Richard, who remained longest, had a unique career. He began his labors in Illinois, but was transferred to Detroit, and be-

came the virtual leader of that center of settlement and civilization. He was an eminently public spirited man, and was so popular with the public as to be elected to Congress, the only Catholic priest ever bearing that distinction. He was also the founder and promoter of education in the region which became the state of Michigan. He brought to Detroit from the east the first printing press that was ever used west of the Allegheny Mountains, and published the first publications in that territory. He was one of the founders and a regent of the University of Michigan, and undoubtedly did more for education and civilization than any other man had accomplished up to his time in that region.

Father Richard's picture, made from an original likeness, hangs on the wall of the old church at Cahokia beside that of Rev. Pierre Gibault, the patriot priest of the west, the man to whom the United States owes the vast district comprised in the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin. Father Gibault, too, ministered in this church, but his place of residence was at Kaskaskia, a point even more notable and more sacred, if possible, than Cahokia. Unfortunately, however, the site of Kaskaskia has been swept away by the ravages of the Mississippi River, and the Church of the Immaculate Conception, founded by Father Marquette, and transferred to and existing in Kaskaskia for more than one hundred years, has been moved farther south to higher ground beyond the dangers of the Mississippi torrents.

It is due the memory of the devoted men who established these foundations and a proper mark of respect that Catholics especially should visit them, and in the atmosphere of religion, which the founders created, visitors should imbibe something of the spirit which animated them, to make life sweeter, to create a better world, and to work out our eternal salvation.

MONK'S MOUND

In an article contributed to the Washington, D. C., Post, William H. Francis says: The 80 or more earthen mounds scattered over a 500 acre tract in the Cahokia district in Madison and St. Clair counties in Illinois, a short distance across the Mississippi River from St. Louis, have begun to yield up to science their story of a North American people who lived and vanished in the vague mists of long, long ago.

The record is a fascinating one of the trade, art and agriculture of the men who inhabited the Mississippi Valley prior to the supremacy of the Indians who greeted the discoverer, De Soto, and the later Jesuit explorers. Hints of the story have been obtained before, in explorations of mounds in Ohio and Illinois and in almost forgotten attempts to fathom the mystery of the Cahokia mounds. But now a comprehensive expedition to this metropolis of the mound builders is beginning to get results that will be written into history.

Prof. Warren K. Moorehead, Massachusetts' archaeologist, is in charge of the expedition, which is being financed by the University of Illinois and watched with interest by the Smithsonian Institution and other scientific organizations. He made his preliminary investigation last fall, digging through one mound to determine that it was composed of strata of various kinds of earth arranged by human hands, and has just completed some spring excavations, which have revealed wonders of the culture of this forgotten race. The diggers will return this fall and again in other seasons for it will take ten years, probably, to reveal the epic of a people who brought conch shells from the sea, obsidian from the Yellowstone, mica from the Alleghanies, copper from the Great Lakes and flint from Missouri.

During five weeks of work just completed, Dr. Moorehead unearthed 3 cemeteries, 52 skeletons, 23 funeral jars and urns, countless small art objects and implements of peace and war, and, most important, an altar; 6 mounds were penetrated. The altar was in the center of the base of one of the mounds. The mound has a diameter of about 160 feet, and was about 24 feet high. The altar is a basin-like structure of baked clay, about 18 inches in diameter, its sides being 3 inches thick. It was filled with ashes—the nature of which has not been determined.

A similar altar was found during the preliminary work last fall, and others have been unearthed in other mounds in other sections of the country. It is the theory of Dr. Moorehead that the mound builders used these altars in connection with ceremonial rites. They were inserted, as this one was, in a large platform of fire-baked clay,

evidently a dance floor, and when their ceremonial usefulness was ended they were covered with earth—hence the mounds.

One of the skeletons has been turned over to Washington University here to be examined in an effort to determine its age, sex and physical characteristics. Generally speaking, the skulls which have been found show that the mound builders were a powerful race physically, and with large brain cavities, but with the protruding lower jaw, usually associated with animal cunning and cruelty. The ashes found in the basin also will be submitted to chemical analysis.

Dr. Moorehead declares that the pottery fragments which he has found indicate beyond doubt that the women of the mound builders had developed a ceramic art higher than that achieved by any other prehistoric mound builders north of the cliff dwellers of the Southwest. The fragments uncovered in the mounds were scooped up by the Indian women as they filled their baskets to carry to the mounds.

The largest of the Cahokia mounds, known as Monk's Mound, because of the fact that Trappist monks built a monastery on its summit, is larger than the great pyramid of the Cheops in Egypt. It is nearly 1,000 feet in diameter and more than 100 feet high. It covers more than 16 acres of ground and contains more than 84,000,000 cubic yards of earth. It has been estimated that, with modern machinery, it would require more than two years for 2,500 men to build it. And the Indian women, who carried every bit of this earth in baskets, "toted" only a peck or two at a time.

Dr. Moorehead will not enter into any discussion of the age of the skeletons and implements he has found. He has indicated, however, that he does not believe they are 1,000 years old.

Whenever it was—400 years ago, 700, 1,000—squas gave dinner parties then, just as they do nowadays. A few days ago five white men, digging near Cahokia Creek, in the vicinity of one of the mounds, uncovered evidence supporting this assertion. It had once been a venison dinner, its centerpiece a young deer killed a day or two before. The cooking pot was a big earthenware vessel with flaring rim suspended over a charcoal fire, with thongs of green hide fastened to earthenware ears in the rim of the pot. All around the fire, in front of a wigwam, were household utensils. When the white men uncovered the spot, the broken cooking pots still were there, but the hide thongs had turned to dust. The charcoal from the fire was scattered among the broken pots. The bones from the venison stew were where they had fallen. But there were no human bones. Evidently the diners had departed hurriedly. The mound builders had no written language, and they left no note behind in explanation.

TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS AGO

On May 17th, two hundred and fifty years ago, Rev. James Marquette, S. J., and Louis Jolliet started on a trip which resulted in the discovery of the Mississippi and Illinois Rivers and in the planting of the Church in mid-America. Father Marquette wrote an account of his journey and because this year is the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of that journey and we are living in the very region visited by Father Marquette we are reproducing Marquette's Journal and urge all readers of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW to its study.

FATHER MARQUETTE'S JOURNAL

The day of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, whom I had always invoked since I have been in this Ottawa country, to obtain of God the grace to be able to visit the nations on the river Mississippi, was identically that on which M. Jolliet arrived with orders of the Comte de Frontenac, our governor, and M. Talon, our intendent, to make this discovery with me. I was the more enraptured at this good news, as I saw my designs on the point of being accomplished, and myself in the happy necessity of exposing my life for the salvation of all these nations, and particularly for the Illinois who had, when I was at Lapointe du St. Esprit, very earnestly entreated me to carry the word of God to their country.

We were not long in preparing our outfit, although we were embarking on a voyage the duration of which we could not foresee. Indian corn, with some dried meat, was our whole stock of provisions. With this we set out in two bark canoes, M. Jolliet, myself, and five men, firmly resolved to do all and suffer all for so glorious an enterprise.

It was on the 17th of May, 1673, that we started from the mission of St. Ignatius at Michilimakinac, where I then was. Our joy at being chosen for this expedition roused our courage, and sweetened the labor of rowing from morning till night. As we were going to seek unknown countries, we took all possible precaution, that, if our enterprise was hazardous, it should not be foolhardy: for this reason we gathered all possible information from Indians who had frequented those parts, and even from their accounts traced a map of all the new country, marking down the rivers on which we were to sail, the names of the nations and places through which we were to pass, the course of the great river, and what direction we should take when we got to it.

Above all, I put our voyage under the protection of the Blessed Virgin Immaculate, promising her, that if she did us the grace to discover the great river, I would give it the name of conception; and that I would also give that name to the first mission which I should establish among those new nations, as I have actually done among the Illinois.

With all these precautions, we made our paddles play merrily over a part of Lake Huron and that of the Illinois into the Bay of the Fetid. (Green Bay.)

WILD OATS IN INDIANA

The first nation that we met was that of Wild Oats. I entered their river to visit them, as we have preached the gospel to these tribes some years past, so that there are many good Christians among them.

The wild oats, from which they take their name, as they are found in their country, are a kind of grass which grows spontaneously in little rivers with slimy bottoms, and in marshy places; they are very like the wild oats that grow up among our wheat. The ears are on stalks knotted at intervals; they rise above the water about the month of June, and keep rising till they float about two feet above it. The grain is not thicker than our oats, but is as long again, so that the meal is much more abundant.

The following is the manner in which the Indians gather it and prepare it for eating. In the month of September, which is the proper time for this harvest, they go in canoes across these fields of wild oats, and shake the ears on their right and left into the canoe as they advance; the grain falls easily if it is ripe, and in a little while their provision is made. To clear it from the chaff, and strip it of a pellicle in which it is enclosed, they put it to dry in the smoke of a wooden lattice, under which they keep up a small fire for several days. When the oats are well dried, they put them in a skin of the form of a bag, which is then forced into a hole made on purpose in the ground; then they tread it out so long and so well, that the grain being freed from the chaff is easily winnowed; after which they pound it to reduce it to meal, or even unpounded, boil it in water seasoned with grease, and in this way, wild oats are almost as palatable as rice would be when not seasoned.

I informed these people of the Wild Oats of my design of going to discover distant nations to instruct them in the mysteries of our Holy Religion; they were very much surprised, and did their best to dissuade me. They told me, that I would meet nations that never

spare strangers, but tomohawk them without any provocation; that the war which had broken out among various nations on our route, exposed us to another evident danger—that of being killed by the war-parties which are constantly in the field; that the Great River is very dangerous, unless the difficult parts are known; that it was full of frightful monsters who swallowed up men and canoes together; that there is even a demon there who can be heard from afar, who stops the passage and engulfs all who dare approach; lastly, that the heat is so excessive in those countries, that it would infallibly cause our death.

I thanked them for their kind advice, but assured them that I could not follow it, as the salvation of souls was concerned; that for them, I should be too happy to lay down my life; that I made light of their pretended demon, that we would defend ourselves well enough against the river-monsters; and, besides, we should be on our guard to avoid the other dangers with which they threatened us. After having made them pray and given them some instructions, I left them, and, embarking in our canoes, we soon after reached the extremity of the Bay of the Fetid, where our Fathers labor successfully in the conversion of these tribes, having baptized more than two thousand since they have been there.

This bay bears a name which has not so bad a meaning in the Indian language, for they call it rather Salt Bay than Fetid Bay, although among them it is almost the same, and this is also the name which they give to the sea. This induced us to make very exact researches to discover whether there were not in these parts some salt springs, as there are among the Iroquois, but we could not find any. We accordingly concluded that the name has been given on account of the quantity of slime and mud there, constantly exhaling noisome vapors which cause the loudest and longest peals of thunder that I ever heard.

The bay is about thirty leagues long, and eight wide at its mouth; it narrows gradually to the extremity; where it is easy to remark the tide which has its regular flow and ebb, almost like that of the sea. This is not the place to examine whether they are real tides, whether they are caused by the winds, or by some other age; whether there are winds, outriders of the moon, or attached to her suite, who consequently agitate the like and give it a kind of flow and ebb, whenever the moon rises above the horizon. What I can certainly aver is, that when the water is quite tranquil, you can easily see it rise and fall with the course of the moon, although I do not deny that this

movement may be caused by distant winds, which pressing on the center of the lake, make it rise and fall on the shore in the way that meets our eyes.

ON THE FOX RIVER

We left this bay to enter a river emptying into it. It is very beautiful at its mouth, and flows gently; it is full of bustards, ducks, teal, and other birds, attracted by the wild oats of which they are very fond, but when you have advanced a little up the river, it becomes very difficult, both on account of the currents and of the sharp rocks which cut the canoes and the feet of those who are obliged to drag them, especially when the water is low. For all that we passed the rapids safely, and as we approached Machkoutens, the Fire nation, I had the curiosity to drink the mineral waters of the river which is not far from this town. I also took time to examine an herb, the virtue of which an Indian, who possessed the secret, had, with many ceremonies, made known to Father Alloues. Its root is useful against the bite of serpents, the Almighty having been pleased to give this remedy against a poison very common in the country. It is very hot, and has the taste of powder when crushed between the teeth. It must be chewed and put on the bite of the serpent. Snakes have such an antipathy to it, that they fly from one rubbed with it. It produces several stalks about a foot long, with pretty long leaves, and a white flower, much like the gillyflower. I put some into my canoe to examine it at leisure, while we kept on our way toward Maskoutens, where we arrived on the 7th of June.

THE MASKOUTEN INDIANS

Here we are then at Maskoutens. This word in Algonquin, means Fire nation, and that is the name given to them. This is the limit of the discoveries made by the French, for they have not yet passed beyond it.

This town is made up of three nations gathered here, Miamis, Maskoutens, and Kikabous. The first are more civil, liberal, and better made; they wear two long ear-locks, which give them a good appearance; they have the name of being warriors and seldom send out war parties in vain; they are very docile, listen quietly to what you tell them, and showed themselves so eager to hear Father Alloues when he was instructing them, that they gave him little rest, even at night. The Maskoutens and Kikabous are ruder and more like peasants, compared to the others.

As bark for cabins is rare in this country, they use rushes, which serve them for walls and roof, but which are no great shelter against the wind, and still less against the rain when it falls in torrents. The advantage of this kind of cabins is that they can roll them up, and carry them easily where they like in hunting-time.

When I visited them, I was extremely consoled to see a beautiful cross planted in the midst of the town, adorned with several white skins, red belts, bows and arrows, which these good people had offered to the Great Manitou (such is the name they give to God) to thank him for having had pity on them during the winter, giving them plenty of game when they were in great dread of famine.

I felt no little pleasure in beholding the position of this town; the view is beautiful and very picturesque, for from the eminence on which it is perched, the eye discovers on every side prairies spreading away beyond its reach, interspersed with thickets or groves of lofty trees. The soil is very good, producing much corn; the Indians gather also quantities of plums and grapes, from which good wine could be made, if they chose.

No sooner had we arrived than M. Jolliet and I assembled the Sachems; he told them that he was sent by our governor to discover new countries, and I, by the Almighty, to illumine them with the light of the gospel; that the Sovereign Master of our lives wished to be known by all nations, and that to obey his will, I did not fear death, to which I exposed myself in such dangerous voyages; that we needed two guides to put us on our way, these, making them a present, we begged them to grant us. This they did very civilly, and even proceeded to speak to us by a present, which was a mat to serve us as a bed on our voyage.

The next day, which was the tenth of June, two Miamis whom they had given us as guides, embarked with us, in the sight of a great crowd, who could wonder enough to see seven Frenchmen alone in two canoes, dare to undertake so strange and so hazardous an expedition.

We knew that there was, three leagues from Maskoutens, a river emptying into the Mississippi; we knew, too, that the point of the compass we were to hold to reach it, was the west-southwest; but the way is so cut up by marshes and little lakes, that it is easy to go astray, especially as the river leading to it so covered with wild oats, that you can hardly discover the channel. Hence, we had good need of our two guides, who led us safely to a portage of twenty-

seven hundred paces, and helped us to transport our canoes to enter this river, after which they returned, leaving us alone in an unknown country, in the hands of Providence.

ON THE WISCONSIN RIVER

We now leave the waters which flow to Quebec, a distance of four or five hundred leagues, to follow those which will henceforth lead us into strange lands. Before embarking, we all began together a new devotion to the Blessed Virgin Immaculate, which we practiced every day, addressing her particular prayers to put under her protection both our persons and the success of our voyage. Then after having encouraged one another, we got into our canoes. The river on which we embarked is called Meskousing; it is very broad, with a sandy bottom, forming many shallows, which render navigation very difficult. It is full of vine-clad islets. On the banks appear fertile lands diversified with wood, prairie, and hill. Here you find oaks, walnut, whitewood, and another kind of tree with branches armed with long thorns. We saw no small game or fish, but deer and moose in considerable numbers.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER

Our route was southwest, and after sailing about thirty leagues, we perceived a place which had all the appearance of an iron mine, and in fact, one of our party who had seen some before, averred that the one we had found was very good and very rich. It is covered with three feet of good earth, very near a chain of rock, whose base is covered with fine timber. After forty leagues on this same route, we reached the mouth of our river, and finding ourselves at $42\frac{1}{2}$ degrees north, we safely entered the Mississippi on the 17th of June, with a joy that I can not express.

Here then we are on this renowned river, of which I have endeavored to remark attentively all the peculiarities. The Mississippi River has its source in several lakes in the country of the nations to the north; it is narrow at the mouth of the Miskousing; its current, which runs south, is slow and gentle; on the right is a considerable chain of very high mountains, and on the left fine lands; it is in many places studded with islands. On sounding, we have found ten fathoms of water. Its breadth is very unequal; it is sometimes three-quarters of a league, and sometimes narrows in to three arpents (22 yards). We gently follow its course, which bears south and south-east till the forty-second degree. Here we perceive that the whole

face is changed ; there is now almost no wood or mountain, the islands are more beautiful and covered with finer trees ; we see nothing but deer and moose, bustards and wingless swans, for they shed their plumes in this country. From time to time we meet monstrous fish, one of which struck so violently against our canoe, that I took it for a large tree about to knock us to pieces. Another time we perceived on the water a monster with the head of a tiger, a pointed snout like a wild-cat's, a beard and ears erect, a grayish head and neck all black. We saw no more of them. On casting our nets, we have taken sturgeon and a very extraordinary kind of fish ; it resembles a trout with this difference, that it has a larger mouth, but smaller eyes and snout. Near the latter is a large bone, like a woman's busk, three fingers wide, and a cubit long ; the end is circular and as wide as the hand. In leaping out of the water the weight of this often throws it back.

BUFFALO

Having descended as far as 41 degrees, 28 min., following the same direction, we find that turkeys have taken the place of game, and the pisikitus, or wild cattle, that of other beasts. We call them wild cattle, because they are like our domestic cattle ; they are not longer, but almost as big again, and more corpulent ; our men having killed one, three of us had considerable trouble in moving it. The head is very large, the forehead flat and a foot and a half broad between the horns, which are exactly like those of our cattle, except that they are black and much larger. Under the neck there is a kind of large crop hanging down, and on the back a pretty high hump. The whole head, the neck, and part of the shoulders, are covered with a great mane like a horse's ; it is a crest a foot long, which renders them hideous, and falling over their eyes, prevents their seeing before them. The rest of the body is covered with a coarse curly hair like the wool of our sheep, but much stronger and thicker. It falls in summer, and the skin is then as soft as velvet. At this time the Indians employ the skins to make beautiful robes, which they paint of various colors ; the flesh and fat of the Pisikious are excellent, and constitute the best dish in banquets. They are very fierce, and not a year passes without their killing some Indian. When attacked, they take a man with their horns, if they can, lift him up, and then dash him on the ground, trample on him, and kill him. When you fire at them from a distance with gun or bow, you must throw yourself on the ground as soon as you fire, and hide in the grass ; for, if they perceive the one who fired, they rush on him and attack him. As their feet are large and rather short, they do not generally go very fast, except when they are irri-

tated. They are scattered over the prairies like herds of cattle. I have seen a band of four hundred.

We advanced constantly, but as we did not know where we were going, having already made more than a hundred leagues without having discovered anything but beasts and birds, we kept well on our guard. Accordingly we make only a little fire on the shore at night to prepare our meal, and after supper keep as far off from it as possible, passing the night in our canoes, which we anchor in the river pretty far from the bank. Even this did not prevent one of us being always as a sentinel for fear of a surprise.

Proceeding south and south-southwest, we find ourselves at 41 degrees north; then 40 degrees and some minutes, partly by southeast and partly by southwest, after having advanced more than sixty leagues since entering the river, without discovering anything.

AT THE PEORIA INDIAN VILLAGE ON THE DES MOINES RIVER

At last, on the 25th of June, we perceived footprints of men by the water-side, and a beaten path entering a beautiful prairie. We stopped to examine it, and concluding that it was a path leading to some Indian village, we resolved to go and reconnoitre; we accordingly left our two canoes in charge of our people, cautioning them strictly to beware of a surprise; then M. Jolliet and I undertook this rather hazardous discovery for two single men, who thus put themselves at the discretion of an unknown and barbarous people. We followed the little path in silence, and having advanced about two leagues, we discovered a village on the banks of the river, and two others on a hill, half a league from the former. Then, indeed, we recommended ourselves to God, with all our hearts; and, having implored his help, we passed on undiscovered, and came so near that we even heard the Indians talking. We then deemed it time to announce ourselves, as we did by a cry, which we raised with all our strength, and then halted without advancing any further. At this cry the Indians rushed out of their cabins, and having probably recognized us as French, especially seeing a black gown, or at least having no reason to distrust us, seeing we were but two, and had made known our coming, they deputed four old men to come and speak with us. Two carried tobacco-pipes well adorned, and trimmed with many kinds of feathers. They marched slowly, lifting their pipes toward the sun, as if offering them to him to smoke, but yet without uttering a single word. They were a long time coming the little way from the village to us. Having reached us at last, they

stopped to consider us attentively. I now took courage, seeing these ceremonies, which are used by them only with friends, and still more on seeing them covered with stuffs, which made me judge them to be allies. I, therefore, spoke to them first, and asked them who they were; they answered that they were Illinois and, in token of peace, they presented their pipes to smoke. Then they invited us to their village where all the tribe awaited us with impatience. These pipes for smoking are called in the country calumets, a word that is so much in use, that I shall be obliged to employ it in order to be understood, as I shall have to speak it frequently.

At the door of the cabin in which we were to be received, was an old man awaiting us in a very remarkable posture; which is their usual ceremony in receiving strangers. This man was standing, perfectly naked, with his hands stretched out and raised toward the sun, as if he wished to screen himself from its rays, which nevertheless passed through his fingers to his face. When we came near him he paid us this compliment: "How beautiful is the sun, O Frenchmen, when thou comest to visit us. All our town awaits thee, and thou shalt enter all our cabins in peace." He then took us into his, where there was a crowd of people, who devoured us with their eyes, but kept profound silence. We heard, however, these words occasionally addressed to us: "Well done, brothers, to visit us."

As soon as we had taken our places, they showed us the usual civility of the country, which is to present the calumet. You must not refuse it, unless you would pass for an enemy, or at least for being impolite. It is, however, enough to pretend to smoke. While all the men smoked after us to honor us, some came to invite us on behalf of the great sachem of all the Illinois to proceed to his town, where he wished to hold a council with us. We went with a good retinue, for all the people who had never seen a Frenchman among them could not tire looking at us; they threw themselves on the grass by the wayside, they ran ahead, then turned and walked back to see us again. All this was done without noise, and with marks of a great respect entertained for us.

THE MEETING DESCRIBED BY LONGFELLOW IN "HIAWATHA"

Having arrived at the great sachem's town, we espied him at his cabin-door, between two old men, all three standing naked, with their calumet turned to the sun. He harangued us in few words, to congratulate us on our arrival, and then presented us his calumet and made us smoke; at the same time we entered his cabin, when we re-

ceived all their usual greetings. Seeing all assembled and in silence, I spoke to them by four presents which I made: by the first, I said that we marched in peace to visit the nations on the river to the sea; by the second, I declared to them that God their Creator had pity on them, since, after their having been so long ignorant of him, he wished to become known to all nations; that I was sent on His behalf with this design; that it was for them to acknowledge and obey Him; by the third, that the great chief of the French informed them that he spread peace everywhere, and had overcome the Iroquois. Lastly, by the fourth, we begged them to give us all the information they had of the sea, and of the nations through which we should have to pass to reach it.

When I had finished my speech, the sachem rose, and laying his hands on the head of a little slave, whom he was about to give us, spoke thus: "I thank thee, Blackgown, and thee, Frenchman," addressing M. Jollyinget, "for taking so much pains to come and visit us; never has the earth been so beautiful, nor the sun so bright, as today; never has our river been so calm, nor so free from rocks, which your canoes have removed as they passed; nor has our tobacco had so fine a flavor, nor our corn appeared so beautiful as we behold it today. Here is my son, that I give thee, that thou mayst know my heart. I pray thee take pity on me and all my nations. Thou knowest the Great Spirit who has made us all; thou speakest to him and hearest his word; ask him to give me life and health, and come and dwell with us, that we may know him." Saying this, he placed the little slave near us, and made us a second present, an all-mysterious calumet, which they value more than a slave; by this present he showed us his esteem for our governor, after the account we had given him; by the third, he begged us, on behalf of his whole nation, not to proceed further, on account of the great dangers to which we exposed ourselves.

I replied, that I did not fear death, and that I esteemed no happiness greater than that of losing my life for the glory of Him who made all. But these poor people could not understand.

The council was followed by a great feast which consisted of four courses, which we had to take with all their ways; the first course was a great wooden dish full of Sagamity, that is to say, of Indian meal boiled in water and seasoned with grease. The master of ceremonies, with a spoonful of sagamity, presented it three or four times to my mouth, as we would do with a little child; he did the same to M. Jollyinget. For the second course, he brought in a second dish contain-

ing three fish; he took some pains to remove the bones, and having blown upon it to cool it, put it in my mouth, as we would food to a bird; for the third course, they produced a large dog, which they had just killed, but learning that we did not eat it, it was withdrawn. Finally, the fourth course was a piece of wild ox, the fattest portions of which were put into our mouths.

After this feast we had to visit the whole village, which consists of full three hundred cabins. While we marched through the streets, an orator was constantly haranguing to oblige all to see us without being troublesome; we were everywhere presented with belts, garters, and other articles made of the hair of the bear and wild cattle, dyed red, yellow, and gray. These are their rareties; but not being of consequence, we did not burthen ourselves with them.

We slept in the sachem's cabin, and the next day took leave of him, promising to pass back through his town in four moons. He escorted us to our canoes with nearly six hundred persons, who saw us embark, evincing in every possible way the pleasure our visit had given them. On taking leave, I personally promised that I would return the next year to stay with them, and instruct them. But before leaving the Illinois country, it will be well to relate what I remarked of their customs and manners.

THE ILLINOIS INDIANS

To say Illinois is, in their language, to say "the men," as if other Indians compared to them were mere beasts. And it must be admitted that they have an air of humanity that we had not remarked in the other nations that we had seen on the way. The short stay I made with them did not permit me to acquire all the information I would have desired. The following is what I have remarked in their manners. They are divided into several villages, some of which are quite distant from that of which I speak, and which is called Peouarea. This produces a diversity in their language which in general has a great affinity to the Algonquin, so that we easily understood one another. They are mild and tractable in their disposition, as we experienced in the reception they gave us. They have many wives, of whom they are extremely jealous; they watch them carefully, and cut off their nose or ears when they do not behave well; I saw several who bore the marks of their infidelity. They are well formed, nimble, and very adroit in using the bow and arrow; they use guns also, which they buy of our Indian allies who trade with the French; they use them especially to terrify their enemies by the noise and smoke, the

others lying too far to the west, have never seen them, and do not know their use. They are war-like and formidable to distant nations in the south and west, where they go to carry off slaves, whom they make an article of trade, selling them at a high price to other nations for goods.

The distant nations against whom they go to war, have no knowledge of Europeans; they are acquainted with neither iron or copper, and have nothing but stone knives. When the Illinois set out on a war party, the whole village is notified by a loud cry made at the door of their huts the morning and evening before they set out. The chiefs are distinguished from the soldiers by their wearing a scarf ingeniously made of the hair of bears and wild oxen. The face is painted with red lead or ochre, which is found in great quantities a few days' journey from the village. They live by game, which is abundant in this country, and on Indian corn, of which they always gather a good crop, so that they have never suffered by famine. They also sow beans and melons, which are excellent, especially those with a red seed. Their squashes are not the best; they dry them in the sun, to eat in the winter and spring.

Their cabins are very large; they are lined and floored with rush-mats. They make all their dishes of wood, and their spoons of the bones of the buffalo, which they cut so well, that it serves them to eat their sagamity easily.

They are liberal in their maladies, and believe that the medicines given them operate in proportion to the presents they have made the medicine-man. Their only clothes are skins; their women are always dressed very modestly and decently, while the men do not take any pains to cover themselves. Through what superstition I know not, some Illinois, as well as some Nadouessi, while yet young, assume the female dress, and keep it all their life. There is some mystery about it, for they never marry, and glory in debasing themselves to do all that is done by women; yet they go to war, though allowed to use only a club, and not the bow and arrow, the peculiar arm of men; they are present at all the juggleries and solemn dances in honor of the calumet; they are permitted to sing, but not to dance; they attend the councils, and nothing can be decided without their advice; finally, by the profession of an extraordinary life, they pass for manitous (that is, for genii), or persons of consequence.

THE CALUMET, A PIPE

It now only remains for me to speak of the calumet, than which their is nothing among them more mysterious or more esteemed. Men

do not pay to the crowns and sceptres of kings the honor they pay to it: it seems to be the god of peace and war, the arbiter of life and death. Carry it about you and show it, and you can march fearlessly amid enemies, who even in the heat of battle lay down their arms when it is shown. Hence the Illinois gave me one, to serve as my safeguard amid all the nations that I had to pass on my voyage. There is a calumet for peace, and one for war, distinguished only by the color of the feathers with which they are adorned, red being the sign of war. They use them also for settling disputes, strengthening alliances, and speaking to strangers.

It is made of polished red stone, like marble, so pierced that one end serves to hold the tobacco, while the other is fastened on the stem, which is a stick two feet long, as thick as a common cane, and pierced in the middle; it is ornamented with the head and neck of different birds of beautiful plumage; they also add large feathers of red, green, and other colors, with which it is all covered. They esteem it particularly because they regard it as the calumet of the sun; and in fact, they present it to him to smoke when they wish to obtain calm, or rain, or fair weather. They scruple to bathe at the beginning of summer, or to eat new fruits, till they have danced it. They do it thus:

THE DANCE OF THE CALUMET

The calumet dance which is very famous among these Indians, is performed only for important matters, sometimes to strengthen a peace or to assemble for some great war; at other times for a public rejoicing; sometimes they do this honor to a nation who is invited to be present; sometimes they use it to receive some important personage, as if they wished to give him the entertainment of a ball or comedy. In winter the ceremony is performed in a cabin, in summer in the open fields. They select a place, surrounded with trees, so as to be sheltered beneath their foliage against the heat of the sun. In the middle of the space they spread out a large party-colored mat of rushes; this serves as a carpet, on which to place with honor the god of the one who gives the dance; for every one has his own god, or manitou, as they call it, which is a snake, a bird, or something of the kind, which they have dreamed in their sleep, and in which they put all their trust for the success of their wars, fishing, and hunts. Near this manitou and at its right, they put the calumet in honor of which the feast is given, making around about it a kind of trophy, spreading there the arms used by the warriors of these tribes, namely, the war-club, bow, hatchet, quiver, and arrows.

Things being thus arranged, and the hour for dancing having arrived, those who are to sing take the most honorable place under the foliage. They are the men and women who have the finest voices, and who accord perfectly. The spectators then come and take their places around under the branches; but each one on arriving must salute the manitou, which he does by inhaling the smoke and then puffing it from his mouth upon it, as if offering incense. Each one goes first and takes the calumet respectfully, and supporting it with both hands, makes it dance in cadence, suiting himself to the air of the song; he makes it go through various figures, sometimes showing it to the whole assembly by turning it from side to side.

After this, he who is to begin the dance appears in the midst of the assembly, and goes first; sometimes he presents it to the sun, as if he wished it to smoke; sometimes he inclines it towards the earth; and at other times he spreads its wings as if for it to fly; at other times, he approaches it to the mouths of the spectators for them to smoke, the whole in cadence. This is the first scene of the ballet.

The second consists in a combat, to the sound of a kind of drum, which succeeds the songs, or rather joins them, harmonizing quite well. The dancer beckons to some brave to come and take the arms on the mat, and challenges him to fight to the sound of the drums; the other approaches, takes his bow and arrow, and begins a duel against the dancer who has no defence but the calumet. This spectacle is very pleasing, especially as it is always done in time, for one attacks, the other defends; one strikes, the other parries; one flies, the other pursues, then he who fled faces and puts his enemy to flight. This is all done so well with measured steps, and the regular sound of voices and drums, that it might pass for a very pretty opening of a ballet in France.

The third scene consists of a speech delivered by the holder of the calumet, for the combat being ended without bloodshed, he relates the battles he was in, the victories he has gained; he names the nations, the places, the captives he has taken, and as a reward, he who presides at the dance presents him with a beautiful beaver robe, or something else, which he received, and then he presents the calumet to another, who hands it to a third, and so to all the rest, till all having done their duty, the presiding chief presents the calumet itself to the nation invited to this ceremony in token of the eternal peace which shall reign between the two tribes.

The following is one of the songs which they are accustomed to

sing; they give it a certain expression, not easily represented by notes, yet in this all its grace consists:

“Ninahani, ninahani, ninahani,
Naniongo.”

We take our leave of our Illinois about the end of June, at three o'clock in the afternoon, and embark in sight of all the tribe, who admire our little canoes, having never seen the like.

We descend, following the course of the river, toward another called Pekitanoui, which empties into the Mississippi, coming from the northwest, of which I have something considerable to say, after I have related what I have remarked of this river.

Passing by some pretty high rocks which line the river, I perceived a plant which seemed to me very remarkable. Its root is like small turnips linked together by little fibres, which had the taste of carrots. From this root springs a leaf as wide as the hand, half of a finger thick with spots in the middle; from this leaf spring other leaves like the sockets of chandeliers in our saloons. Each leaf bears five or six bell-shaped yellow flowers. We found abundance of mulberries, as large as the French, and a small fruit which we took at first for olives, but it had the taste of an orange, and another as large as a hen's egg; we broke it in half and found two separations, in each of which were encased eight or ten seed shaped like an almond, which are quite good when ripe. The tree which bears them has, however, a very bad smell, and its leaf resembles that of a walnut. There are also in the prairies, fruit, resembling our filberts, but more tender; the leaves are larger, and spring from a stalk crowned at the top with a head like a sunflower, in which all those nuts are neatly arranged; they are very good cooked raw.

THE PAINTED MONSTERS OPPOSITE ALTON

As we coasted along rocks frightful for their height and length, we saw two monsters painted on one side of these rocks, which startled us at first, and on which the boldest Indian dare not gaze long. They are as large as a calf, with horns on the head like a deer, a fearful look, red eyes, bearded like a tiger, the face somewhat like a man's, the body covered with scales, and the tail so long that it twice makes the turn of the body, passing over the head and down between the legs, and ending at last in a fish's tail. Green, red, and a kind of black, are the colors employed. On the whole, these two monsters are so well painted, that we could not believe any Indian to have been the designer, as good painters in France would find it hard to do

as well ; besides this, they are so high upon the rock that it is hard to get conveniently at them to paint them. This is pretty nearly the figure of these monsters, as N drew it off. (Drawing on margin of original letter.)

THE MISSOURI RIVER

As we were discoursing of them, sailing gently down a beautiful, still, clear water, we heard the noise of a rapid into which we were about to fall. I have seen nothing more frightful ; a mass of large trees, entire, with branches, real floating islands, came rushing from the mouth of the river Pekitanoui, so impetuously, that we could not, without danger, expose ourselves to pass across. The agitation was so great that the water was all muddy and could not get clear.

Pekitanoui is a considerable river which coming from very far in the northwest, empties into the Mississippi. Many Indian towns are ranged along this river, and I hope, by its means, to make the discovery of the Red, or California sea.

We judged by the direction the Mississippi takes, that if it keeps on the same course it has its mouth in the gulf of Mexico ; it would be very advantageous to find that which leads to the South sea, toward California and this, as I said, I hope to find by Pekitanoui, following the account which the Indians have given me ; for from them I learn that advancing up this river for five or six days, you come to a beautiful prairie twenty or thirty leagues long, which you must cross to the northwest. It terminated at another little river on which you can embark, it not being difficult to transport canoes over so beautiful a country as that prairie. This second river runs southwest for ten or fifteen leagues, after which it enters a small lake, which is the source of another deep river, running to the west where it empties into the sea. I have hardly any doubt that this is the Red sea, and I do not despair of one day making the discovery, if God does me the favor and grants me health, in order to be able to publish the gospel to all the nations of this new world who have so long been plunged in heathen darkness.

Let us resume our route after having escaped as best we could, the dangerous rapid caused by the obstacle of which I have spoken.

THE OHIO RIVER FORMERLY CALLED THE OUBAK'S WABASH

After having made about twenty leagues due south, and a little less to the southeast, we came to a river called Ouaboukigou, the mouth

of which is 36 degrees north. Before we arrived there, we passed by a place dreaded by the Indians, because they think that there is a manitou there, that is, a demon who devours all who pass, and of this it was, that they had spoken, when they wished to deter us from our enterprise. The devil is this—a small bay, full of rock, some twenty feet high, where the whole current of the river is whirled; hurled back against that which follows, and checked by a neighboring island, the mass of water is forced through a narrow channel; all of this is not done without a furious combat of the waters tumbling over each other, nor without a great roaring, which strikes terror into Indians who fear everything. It did not prevent our passing and reaching Sabokigo. This river comes from the country on the east, inhabited by the people called Chaouanons, in such numbers that they reckon as many as twenty-three villages in one district, and fifteen in another, lying quite near each other; they are by no means warlike, and are the people the Iroquois go far to seek in order to wage an unprovoked war upon them; and, as these poor people can not defend themselves, they allow themselves to be taken and carried off like sheep, and innocent as they are, do not fail to experience, at times, the barbarity of the Iroquois, who burn them cruelly.

A little above this river of which I have just spoken, are cliffs where our men perceived an iron mine, which they deemed very rich; there are many veins, and a bed a foot thick. Large masses are found combined with pebbles. There is also there a kind of unctuous earth of three colors, purple, violet, and red, the water in which it is washed becomes blood-red. There is also a very heavy, red sand; I put some on a paddle, and it took the color so well, that the water did not efface it for fifteen days that I used it in rowing.

Here we began to see canes, or large reeds on the banks of the river; they are of a very beautiful green; all the knots are crowned with long narrow, pointed leaves; they are very high, and so thick-set, that the wild cattle find it difficult to make their way through them.

LEGIONS OF MOSQUITOES

Up to the present time we had not been troubled by mosquitoes, but we now, as it were, entered their country. Let me tell you what the Indians of these parts do to defend themselves against them. They raise a scaffolding, the floor of which is made of simple poles, and consequently a mere grate-work to give passage to the smoke of a fire which they build beneath. This drives off the little animals, as

they can not bear it. The Indians sleep on the poles, having pieces of bark stretched above them to keep off the rain. This scaffolding shelters them, too, from the excessive and insupportable heat of the country; for they lie in the shade in the lower story, and are thus sheltered from the rays of the sun, enjoy the cool air which passes freely through the scaffold.

With the same view we were obliged to make on the water a kind of cabin with our sails, to shelter ourselves from the mosquitoes and the sun. While thus borne on at the will of the current, we perceived on the shore Indians armed with guns, with which they awaited us. I first presented my feathered calumet, while my comrades stood to arms, ready to fire on the first volley of the Indians. I hailed them in Huron, but they answered me by a word, which seemed to us a declaration of war. They were, however, as much frightened as ourselves, and what we took for a signal of war, was an invitation to come near, that they might give us food; we accordingly landed and entered their cabins, where they presented us wild-beef and bear's oil, with white plums, which are excellent. They have guns, axes, hoes, knives, beads, and double glass bottles in which they keep the powder. They wear their hair long and mark their bodies in the Iroquois fashion; the head-dress and clothing of their women were like those of the Huron squaws.

FRIENDLY INDIANS

They assured us that it was not more than ten days' journey to the sea; that they bought stuffs and other articles of Europeans on the eastern side; that these Europeans had rosaries and pictures; that they played on instruments; that some were like me, who received them well. I did not, however, see any one who seemed to have received any instructions in the faith; such as I could, I gave them with some medals.

HOSTILE INDIANS

This news roused our courage and made us take up our paddles with renewed ardor. We advanced then, and now begin to see less prairie land, because both sides of the river are lined with lofty woods. The cotton-wood, elm and white-wood, are of admirable height and size. The numbers of wild cattle we heard bellowing, made us believe the prairies near. We also saw quails on the water's edge, and killed a little parrot with half the head red, the rest, with the neck, yellow, and the body green. We had now descended to near 33 degrees north,

having almost always gone south, when on the water's edge we perceived a village called Mitchigamea. We had recourse to our patroness and guide, the Blessed Virgin Immaculate; and, indeed, we needed her aid, for we heard from afar the Indians exciting one another to the combat by continued yells. They were armed with bows, arrows, axes, war-clubs, and bucklers, and prepared to attack us by land and water; some embarked in large wooden canoes, a part to ascend, the rest to descend the river, so as to cut off our way, and surround us completely. Those on shore kept going and coming, as if to begin the attack. In fact, some young men sprang into the water to come and seize my canoe, but the current having compelled them to return to the shore, one of them threw his war-club at us, but it passed over our heads without doing us any harm. In vain I showed the calumet, and made gestures to explain that we had not come as enemies. The alarm continued, and they were about to pierce us from all sides with their arrows, when God suddenly touched the hearts of the old men on the water-side, doubtless at the sight of our calumet, which at a distance they had not distinctly recognized; but as I showed it continually, they were touched, restrained the ardor of their youth, and two of the chiefs having thrown their bows and quivers into our canoe, and as it were, at our feet, entered and brought us to the shore, where we disembarked, not without fear on our part. We had at first to speak by signs, for not one understood a word of the six languages I knew; at last an old man was found who spoke a little Illinois.

We showed them our presents, that we were going to the sea; they perfectly understood our meaning, but I know not whether they understood what I told them of God, and the things which concerned their salvation. It is a seed cast in the earth which will bear its fruits in season. We got no answer, except that we would learn all we desired at another great village called Akamsea, only eight or ten leagues farther down the river. They presented us with sagamity and fish, and we spent the night among them, not, however, without some uneasiness.

AT THE ARKANSAS

We embarked next morning with our interpreter, preceded by ten Indians in a canoe. Having arrived about half a league from Akamsea (Arkansas), we saw two canoes coming toward us. The commander was standing up holding in his hand the calumet, with which he made signs according to the custom of the country; he approached us, singing quite agreeably, and invited us to smoke, after which he

presented us some sagamity and bread made of Indian corn, of which we ate a little. He now took the lead, making us signs to follow slowly. Meanwhile, they had prepared us a place under the war-chief's scaffold; it was neat and carpeted with fine rush mats, on which they made us sit down, having around us immediately the sachems, then the braves, and last of all, the people in crowds. We fortunately found among them a young man who understood Illinois much better than the interpreter whom we had brought from Mitchigeama. By means of him I first spoke to the assembly by the ordinary presents; they admired what I told them of God, and the mysteries of our holy faith, and showed a great desire to keep me with them to instruct them.

We then asked them what they knew of the sea; they replied that we were ten days' journey from it (we could have made this distance in five days); that they did not know the nations who inhabited it, because their enemies prevented their commerce with those Europeans; that the hatchets, knives, and beads, which we saw, were sold them, partly by the nations to the east, and partly by an Illinois town four days' journey to the west; that the Indians with fire-arms whom we had met, were their enemies who cut off their passage to the sea, and prevented their making the acquaintance of the Europeans, or having any commerce with them; that, besides, we should expose ourselves greatly by passing on, in consequence of the continual war-parties that their enemies sent out on the river; since being armed and used to war, we could not, without evident danger, advance on that river which they constantly occupy.

During this converse, they kept continually bringing us in wooden dishes of sagamity, Indian corn whole, or pieces of dog-flesh; the whole day was spent in feasting.

These Indians are very courteous and liberal of what they have, but they are very poorly off for food, not daring to go and hunt the wild-cattle, for fear of their enemies. It is true, they have Indian corn in abundance, which they sow at all seasons; we saw some ripe; more just sprouting, and more just in the ear, so that they sow three crops a year. They cook it in large earthen pots, which are very well made; they have also plates of baked earth, which they employ for various purposes; the men go naked, and wear their hair short; they have the nose and ears pierced, and beads hanging from them. The women are dressed in wretched skins; they braid their hair in two plaits, which falls behind their ears; they have no ornaments to decorate their persons. They banquets are without any ceremonies; they

serve their meats in large dishes, and every one eats as much as he pleases, and they give the rest to one another. Their language is extremely difficult, and with all my efforts, I could not succeed in pronouncing some words. Their cabins, which are long and wide, are made of bark; they sleep at the two extremities, which are raised about two feet from the ground. They keep their corn in large baskets, made of cane, or in gourds, as large as half barrels. They do not know what a beaver is; their riches consist in the hides of wild cattle. They never see snow, and know the winter only by the rain which falls oftener than in summer. We eat no fruit there but watermelons. If they knew how to cultivate their ground, they might have plenty of all kinds.

In the evening the sachems held a secret council on the design of some to kill us for plunder, but the chief broke up all these schemes, and sending for us, danced the calumet in our presence, in the manner I have described above, as a mark of perfect assurance; and then, to remove all fears, presented it to me.

RETURNING HOME

M. Jolliet and I held another council to deliberate on what we should do, whether we should push on, or rest satisfied with the discovery that we had made. After having attentively considered that we were not far from the gulf of Mexico, the basin of which is 31 degrees 40 minutes north, and we at 33 degrees 40 minutes, so that we could not be more than two or three days' journey off; that the Mississippi undoubtedly had its mouth in Florida or the gulf of Mexico, and not on the east, in Virginia, whose seacoast is at 34 degrees north, which we had passed, without having as yet reached the sea, nor on the western side in California, because that would require a west, or west-southwest course, and we had always been going south. We considered, moreover, that we risked losing the fruit of this voyage, of which we could give no information, if we should throw ourselves into the hands of the Spaniards, who would undoubtedly, at least, hold us prisoners. Besides, it was clear, that we were not in a condition to resist the Indians allied to the Europeans, numerous and expert in the use of fire-arms, who continually infested the lower part of the river. Lastly, we had gathered all the information that could be desired from the expedition. All these reasons induced us to resolve to return; this we announced to the Indians, and after a day's rest, prepared for it.

IN ILLINOIS—PEORIA AND KASKASKIA, NOW UTICA

After a month's navigation down the Missisipi, from the 42d to below the 34th degree, and after having published the gospel as well as I could to the nations I had met, we left the village of Akamsea on the 17th of July, to retrace our steps. We accordingly ascended the Missisipi, which gave us great trouble to stem its current. We left it, indeed, about the 38th degree, to enter another river, which greatly shortened our way, and brought us, with little trouble, to the lake of the Illinois.

We had seen nothing like this river for the fertility of the land, its prairies, woods, wild cattle, stag, deer, wild-cats, bustards, swans, ducks, parrots, and even beaver; its many little lakes and rivers. That on which we sailed, is broad, deep, and gentle for sixty-five leagues. During the spring and part of the summer, the only portage is half a league.

We found there an Illinois town called Kaskaskia, composed of seventy-four cabins; they received us well, and compelled me to promise to return and instruct them. One of the chiefs of this tribe with his young men, escorted us to the Illinois lake, whence at last we returned in the close of September to the bay of the Fetid, whence we had set out in the beginning of June.

Had all this voyage caused but the salvation of a single soul, I should deem all my fatigue well repaid, and this I have reason to think, for, when I was returning, I passed by the Indians of Peoria. I was three days announcing the faith in all their cabins, after which as we were embarking, they brought me on the water's edge a dying child which I baptized a little before it expired, by an admirable Providence for the salvation of that innocent soul. (From Thwaite's *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 59.)

MARQUETTE'S SECOND VOYAGE

As is seen in the foregoing letter Marquette reached home in September, 1673. Father Dablon tells of his setting out again for the Illinois country :

“Father Jacques Marquette, having promised the Illinois on his first voyage to them, in 1673, that he would return to them the following year, to teach them the mysteries of our religion, had much difficulty in keeping his word. The great hardships of his first voyage had brought upon him a bloody flux, and had so weakened him that he was giving up the hope of undertaking a second. However, his sickness decreased; and, as it had almost entirely abated by the close of the summer in the following year, he obtained the permission of

his superiors to return to the Illinois and there begin that fair mission.

He set out for that purpose, in the month of November of the year 1674, from the Bay des Puants, with two men, one of whom had made the former voyage with him. During a month of navigation on the Lake of the Illinois, he was tolerably well; but, as soon as the snow began to fall, he was again seized with his bloody flux, which compelled him to halt in the river which leads to the Illinois."

[From the commencement of this journey we have Father Marquette's own words in a letter addressed to Father Dablon in the form of a journal.

From this letter we learn that Father Marquette received orders from his superior to proceed to the establishment of the mission which had been in contemplation, and that with "Pierre Porteret and Jacques Le Costor," he departed for the Illinois country about noon of October 25, 1674.

In this communication to Father Dablon Father Marquette makes entries from day to day or from time to time recording the progress of the journey and items of interest in connection therewith. Such entries are made for October 26, 27, 28, 29, 30 and 31, and for November 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 15, 20, 23 and 27. By December 1st the party is coming nearer Chicago, and in consequence the letter or journal becomes more applicable to our immediate subject of consideration. The next four entries fix the direct relation of Father Marquette's approach to and entrance upon the site of what is now Chicago. These entries read as follows]:

"December 1. We went ahead of the savages, so that I might celebrate holy Mass.

December 3. After saying holy Mass, we embarked, and were compelled to make for a point, so that we could land, on account of floating masses of ice.

MARQUETTE LANDS AT MOUTH OF CHICAGO, THEN LOCATED AT WHAT IS NOW MADISON STREET AND LAKE MICHIGAN

December 4. We started with a favoring wind, and reached the river of the portage, which was frozen to the depth of half a foot; there was more snow there than elsewhere, as well as more tracks of animals and turkeys.

Navigation on the lake is fairly good from one portage to the other, for there is no crossing to be made, and one can land anywhere, unless one persist in going on when the waves are high and the wind is strong. The land bordering it is of no value, except on the prairies. There are eight or ten quite fine rivers. Deer-hunting is very good, as one goes away from the Poutewatamus.

AFTER STAYING SEVEN DAYS HE PASSES UP THE CHICAGO RIVER

December 12. As we began yesterday to haul our baggage in order to approach the portage, the Illinois who had left the Poutewatamis arrived, with great difficulty. We were unable to celebrate holy Mass on the day of the Conception, owing to the bad weather and cold. During our stay at the entrance of the river, Pierre and Jacques killed three cattle and four deer, one of which ran some dis-

tance with its heart split in two. We contented ourselves with killing three or four turkeys, out of many that came around our cabin because they were almost dying of hunger. Jacques brought in a partridge that he had killed, exactly like those of France except that it had two ruffs, as it were, of three or four feathers as long as a finger, near the head, covering the two sides of the neck where there are no feathers.

CAMPS TWO LEAGUES UP THE RIVER AT WHAT IS NOW ROBEY STREET AND DRAINAGE CANAL

December 14. Having encamped near the portage, two leagues up the river, we resolved to winter there, as it was impossible to go farther, since we were too much hindered and my ailment did not permit me to give myself much fatigue. Several Illinois passed yesterday, on their way to carry their furs to Nawaskingwe; we gave them one of the cattle and one of the deer that Jacque had killed on the previous day. I do not think that I have ever seen any savages more eager for French tobacco than they. They came and threw beaver-skins at our feet to get some pieces of it; but we returned these, giving them some pipefuls of the tobacco because we had not yet decided whether we would go farther.

December 15. Chachagwessiou and the other Illinois left us, to go and join their people and give them the goods that they had brought, in order to obtain their robes. In this they act like the traders, and give hardly any more than to the French. I instructed them before their departure, deferring the holding of a council until the spring, when I should be in their village. They traded us three fine robes of ox-skins for a cubit of tobacco; these were very useful to us during the winter. Being thus rid of them, we said the Mass of the Conception. After the 14th, my disease turned into a bloody flux.

December 30. Jacque arrived from the Illinois village, which is only six leagues from here; there they were suffering from hunger, because the cold and snow prevented them from hunting. Some of them notified La Toupine and the surgeon that we were here; and, as they could not leave their cabin, they had so frightened the savages, believing that we should suffer from hunger if we remained here, that Jacque had much difficulty in preventing fifteen young men from coming to carry away all our belongings.

January 16, 1675. As soon as the two Frenchmen learned that my illness prevented me from going to them, the surgeon came here with a savage, to bring us some blue berries and corn. They are only eighteen leagues from here, in a fine place for hunting cattle, deer and turkeys, which are excellent there. They had also collected provisions while waiting for us; and had given the savages to understand that their cabin belonged to the black gown; and it may be said that they have done and said all that could be expected of them. After the surgeon had spent some time here, in order to perform his devotions, I sent Jacque with him to tell the Illinois near that place that my illness prevented me from going to see them; and that I would even have some difficulty in going there in the spring, if it continued.

January 24. Jacque returned with a sack of corn and other delicacies, which the French had given him for me. He also brought the tongues and flesh of two cattle, which a savage and he had killed near here. But all the animals feel the bad weather.

January 26. Three Illinois brought us, on behalf of the elders, two sacks of corn, some dried meat, pumpkins, and twelve beaver-skins: first, to make me a mat; second, to ask me for powder; third, that we might not be hungry; fourth, to obtain a few goods. I replied: first, that I had come to instruct them, by speaking to them of prayer, etc.; second, that I would give them no powder, because we sought to restore peace everywhere, and I did not wish them to begin war with the Miami; third, that we feared not hunger; fourth that I would encourage the French to bring them goods, and that they must give satisfaction to those who were among them for the beads which they had taken as soon as the surgeon started to come here. As they had come a distance of twenty leagues, I gave them, in order to reward them for their trouble and for what they had brought me, a hatchet, two knives, three clasp-knives, ten brasses of glass beads, and two double mirrors, telling them that I would endeavor to go to the village, for a few days only, if my illness continued. They told me to take courage, and to remain and die in their country; and that they had been informed that I would remain there for a long time.

CONCLUDES NOVENA FOR THE RECOVERY OF HIS HEALTH

February 9. Since we addressed ourselves to the Blessed Virgin Immaculate, and commenced a novena with a Mass, at which Pierre and Jacque, who do everything they can to relieve me, received communion, to ask God to restore my health, my bloody flux has left me, and all that remains is a weakness of the stomach. I am beginning to feel much better, and to regain my strength. Out of a cabin of Illinois, who encamped near us for a month, a portion have again taken the road to the Poutewatamis, and some are still on the lake-shore, where they wait until navigation is open. They bear letters for our Fathers of St. François.

February 20. We have had opportunity to observe the tides coming in from the lake, which rise and fall several times a day; and, although there seems to be no shelter in the lake, we have seen the ice going against the wind. These tides made the water good or bad, because that which flows from above comes from prairies and small streams. The deer, which are plentiful near the lake-shore, are so lean that we had to abandon some of those which we had killed.

March 23. We killed several partridges, only the males of which had ruffs on the neck, the females not having any. These partridges are very good, but not like those of France.

March 30. The north wind delayed the thaw until the 25th of March, when it set in with a south wind. On the very next day, game began to make its appearance. We killed thirty pigeons, which I found better than those down the great river; but they are smaller,

both old and young. On the 28th, the ice broke up, and stopped above us. On the 29th, the waters rose so high that we had barely time to decamp, as fast as possible, putting our goods in the trees, and trying to sleep on a hillock. The water gained on us nearly all night, but there was a slight freeze, and the water fell a little, while we were near our packages. The barrier has just broken, the ice has drifted away; and, because the water is already rising, we are about to embark to continue our journey.

The Blessed Virgin Immaculate has taken such care of us during our wintering that we have not lacked provisions, and have still remaining a large sack of corn, with some meat and fat. We also lived very pleasantly, for my illness did not prevent me from saying holy Mass every day. We were unable to keep Lent, except on Fridays and Saturdays.

STARTS FOR DESTINATION

March 31. We started yesterday and travelled three leagues up the river without finding any portage. We hauled our goods probably about half an arpent. Besides this discharge, the river has another one by which we are to go down. The very high lands alone are not flooded. At the place where we are the water has risen more than twelve feet. This is where we began our portage eighteen months ago. Bustards and ducks pass continually; we contented ourselves with seven. The ice, which is still drifting down, keeps us here, as we do not know in which condition the lower part of the river is.

April 1. As I do not yet know whether I shall remain next summer in the village, on account of my diarrhoea, we leave here part of our goods, those with which we can dispense, and especially a sack of corn. While a strong south wind delays us, we hope to go tomorrow to the place where the French are, at a distance of fifteen leagues from here.

April 6. Strong winds and the cold prevent us from proceeding. The two lakes over which we passed are full of bustards, geese, ducks, cranes, and other game unknown to us. The rapids are quite dangerous in some places. We have just met the surgeon, with a savage who was going up with a canoe-load of furs; but, as the cold is too great for persons who are obliged to drag their canoes in the water, he has made a cache of his beaver-skins, and returns to the village tomorrow with us. If the French procure robes in this country, they do not disrobe the savages, so great are the hardships that must be endured to obtain them.

[This letter or journal is addressed

“To my Reverend Father Claude Dablon, Superior of the Missions of the Society of Jesus, New France, Quebec.”

Two endorsements appear on the letter, as follows:

“Letter and Journal of the late Father Marquette” and “Everything concerning Father Marquette’s voyage.”]

[As is seen, Father Marquette's letter or diary of his second voyage ends on April 6th, 1674. He had reached a stopping point on his way from Chicago, perhaps about where Summit is now situated. He seems to have written nothing after this, but Rev. Claude Dablon, S. J., the Superior of the mission, who undoubtedly talked with Pierre and Jacques, Marquette's companions, completes the narrative and tells of Marquette founding the Church at Kaskaskia, April 11, 1675, as follows:] :

THE CHURCH ESTABLISHED APRIL 11, 1675

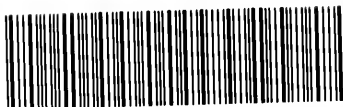
"It was a beautiful prairie, close to a village, which was selected for the great council; this was adorned, after the fashion of the country, by covering it with mats and bear skins. Then the Father having directed them to stretch out upon lines several pieces of Chinese taffeta, attached to these four large pictures of the Blessed Virgin, which were visible on all sides. The audience was composed of 500 chiefs and elders, seated in a circle around the Father, and of all the young men, who remained standing. They numbered more than 1500 men, without counting the women and children, who are always numerous, the village being composed of five or six hundred fires. The Father addressed the whole body of people, and conveyed to them ten messages by means of ten presents which he gave them. He explained to them the principal mysteries of our religion, and the purpose that had brought him to their country. Above all, he preached to them Jesus Christ, on the very eve of that great day on which he had died upon the Cross for them, as well as for all the rest of mankind; then he said holy Mass."

[Thus was his life work accomplished and he set out on his homeward journey, but died on the way at what is now Ludington, Michigan, on May 18, 1675.]

NOTE. The three letters, Marquette's two and Dablon's, may be read in full in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 59.



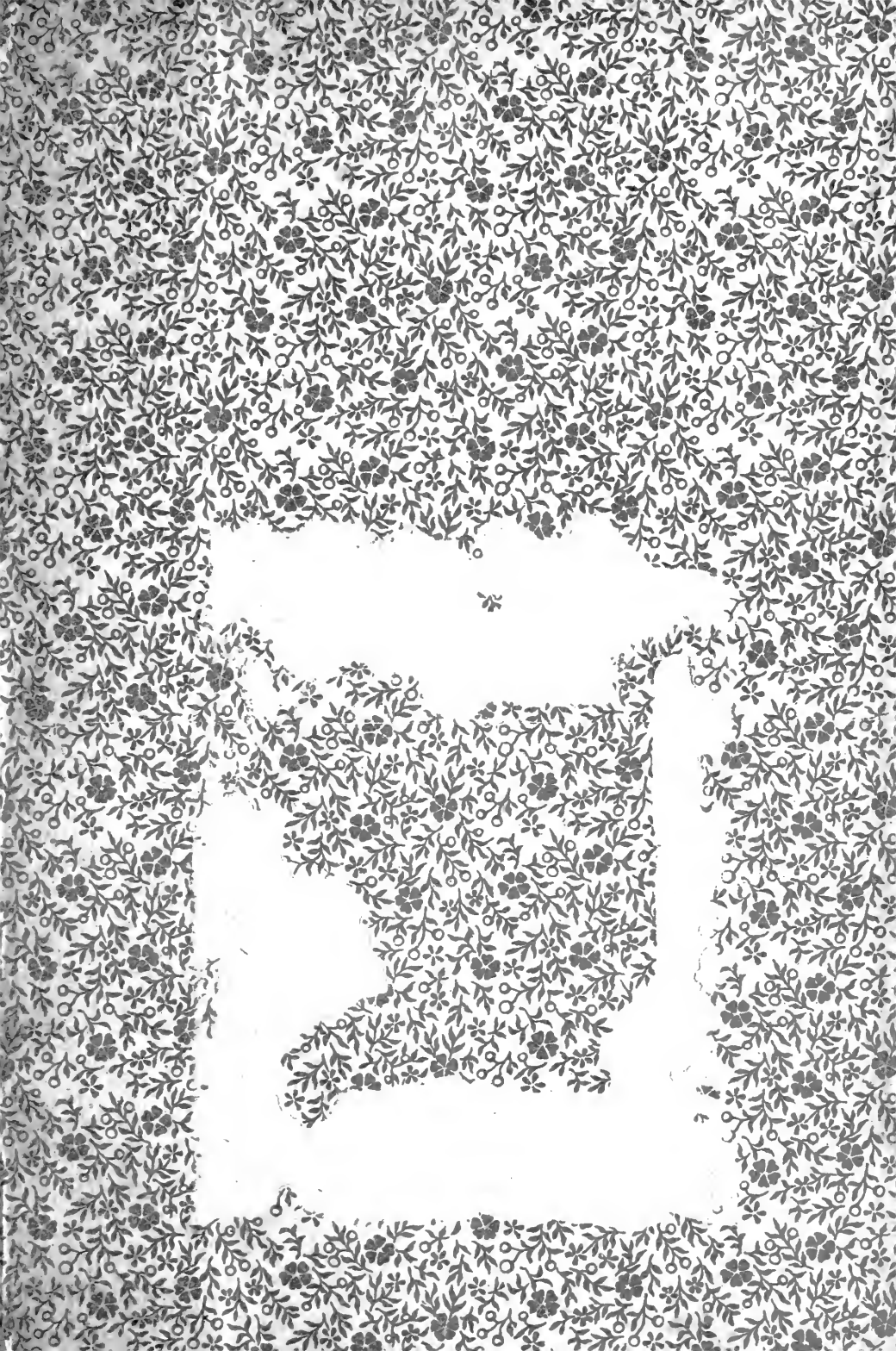
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